

# The Journal of Central Asian Studies



**Centre of Central Asian Studies**  
**The University of Kashmir**  
**SRINAGAR**

**Volume : 5**

**1994**

**No. : 1**



## GUIDELINES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

The Journal welcomes original papers from all viewpoints on all aspects of Central Asian Studies.

Manuscripts must be type written on one side of A -- 4 size of paper in double space. Typescript should be carefully checked and should be preceded by a covering page stating the title of the paper, full name of author, identification of the author (position and institutional or other affiliation) and mailing address of the author. A summary not more than 200 words outlining the scope of the work should also be included. The article should be written, preferably in third person. References should be given at the end of the article in the following pattern.

(a) References to books should include authors name ( surname in capitals, followed by the initials), title of the book (underlined), volume No. and edition (if necessary), name of the publisher, place and date of publication and page numbers cited. e.g.

WADDLE L.A., *Budhisim and Lamaisium of the Tibet*. V. 1  
Heritage Publishers, New Delhi, India, 1979, PP 47-49.

(b) References to articles in periodicals should include author's name, title of article, title of the periodical (underlined), volume issue number (if required), year and page number. e.g.

GRABE E.J., The Decorative arts of Central Asia in Timuric  
Period; *Afghanistan Qlty*. Vol. 24, No. 2, 1971, PP 60-75.

Ten offprint copies are supplied free to contributors. Additional offprint may be obtained at low cost if ordered before publication. Contributors will also receive a free copy of the Journal in which their articles are published.

Please send manuscripts for Publication to :-

Editor  
The Journal of Central Asian studies,  
Centre of Central Asian Studies,  
The University of Kashmir,  
Hazratbal, Srinagar-190006. J&K.



*The Journal  
of  
Central Asian Studies*



**Centre of Central Asian Studies  
The University of Kashmir  
Srinagar**

Volume 5

1994

No. 1







**Journal of Central Asian Studies**

**Volume 5**

**1994**

**No. 1**

***Chief Editor***

**Abdul Majid Mattoo**

***Editor***

**Gulshan Majeed**

***Associate Editors***

**Mushtaq Ahmad Kaw**

**Riyaz Rufai**

**Aijaz A. Bandey**







## CONTENTS

Some Aspects of Sufis, Miracles and Conversion in 16th Century Central Asia.	<i>David W. Damrel</i>	1 - 10
Political Change in Bukhara 1918-20	<i>Ram Rahul</i>	11 - 20
Ibn Sina's Approach to Physics	<i>H.S. Virk</i>	21 - 24
Environmental Sculptures on Islamic Theme	<i>Gayoor Hassan</i>	25 - 30
A Parthian Inscription at Susa : A Critical Analysis	<i>Gulshan Majeed</i>	31 - 48
On Language Situation in Uzbekistan	<i>Abdulzukur A. Abduuazizov</i>	49 - 52
Agro-Climatic Regionlization of Western Turkestan	<i>G. M. Mir</i>	53 - 62
Personality Correlates of Socio-Metric Status - A Study of Subcultural Group Differences	<i>A. G. Madhosh</i>	63 - 72
Economic Efficiency of Horticultural Resources - Comparison Between Jammu & Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh	<i>G. M. Bhat Abdul Wahid</i>	73 - 80
Re-Examination of the Glazed Tiles at the Tomb of Madin Sahib in Srinagar	<i>Aijaz A. Bandey</i>	81 - 86
Description of Hoonza-Nagar in Some of the Literary Accounts of the Nineteenth & Twentieth Centuries	<i>M. A. Kaw</i>	87 - 101

### Reprint

Notes on the Classification of Bashgali	105 - 152
---	-----------

### Persian

1- 26

شرح حال و آثار و ارزیابی انتقادی سبک  
 شعر ملا ساطع کشمیری

دکتر محمد صدیق نیارمند







## SOME ASPECTS OF SUFIS, MIRACLES AND CONVERSION IN 16TH CENTURY CENTRAL ASIA

*\*David W. Damrel*

Counted among the accomplishments of the Muslim "friends of God" in Central Asia during the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries was their conspicuous success at bringing Islam to tribal peoples whose previous religion had been what the Muslim chronicles call simply "idol-worship and unbelief". In the mid-15th century Sufi saints belonging to one particular mystical brotherhood — the Naqshbandiyya — moved steadily eastward from the order's urban strongholds in Transoxania until by the early 16th century they had secured devotees among the nomadic non-Muslim herdsmen of Mogulistan and eastern Turkistan. A rich hagiographical tradition from this period and slightly later relates that these individual Naqshbandi shaykhs — by means of their spiritual grace — were responsible for the conversion of literally hundreds of thousands of infidels from among the nomads. That Sufi saints should work miracles and win converts to Islam through them is hardly news — similar examples abound from the historical and geographical frontiers where Islamic civilization encountered and eventually informed non-Muslim societies. But while this phenomenon of conversion via the works of Sufis has long been noted in earlier scholarship, particularly in regard to medieval South Asia, little has been done on the same topic for Central and Inner Asia<sup>1</sup>.

This paper will address this and put two general questions to a number of Naqshbandi hagiographical texts from 16th century Central Asia. The first query is basic, but manifold: how, in the texts, does a Muslim saint effect these conversions? What are the circumstances of these marvelous displays, and what sorts of miracles occur? How are the non-Muslims portrayed, especially when the infidels possess rival spiritual or supernatural powers? The next question is more openly historical: if these hagiographies are dismissed as unreliable historical sources, what options are left to explain Inner Asian conversion to Islam? And what roles remain for the Sufis in a perhaps less miracle-filled version of events?

The major figure in this investigation is the Naqshbandi "*saint*" Khwaja Ishaq Wali, who died probably in 1599-1600 (1008 AH). Born the fourth (or seventh) son of a famous Naqshbandi master known best as "*Makhdum-i-A'zam*" ("the supreme teacher"), Ishaq's mystical and biological lineages gave him impeccable spiritual and social credentials. He spent the early part of his career in Samarqand and Bukhara during Shaybanid rule, and received at least part of a

---

\* 3053 West Anklam Road # 10 Tucson, Arizona, 85745 USA



madrassa education. True to the typical pattern of the Naqshbandi in Central Asia, Ishaq attracted the patronage of several Uzbek sultans and organised a wealthy and politically active branch of the *tariqa* that was able to dispatch disciples as far as Kashghar and Mogul Kashmir. When Central Asian enemies—both Uzbek political factions and rival Naqshbandi groups became uncomfortable with his rising power, Ishaq accepted the timely invitation of the Moghul Chaghadayid sultan of Kashghar and relocated there, probably in the mid-1580s. He remained in eastern Turkestan for at least twelve years, dividing his time among the cities of Yarkand, Khotan, Kashghar and Aksu before he eventually became enmeshed in a series of political intrigues involving the ruling house. It was also during these dozen or so years that he undertook his celebrated missionary works among infidel Mongols, Moghuls, Kirghiz and Qalmaqs. Ishaq finally returned to Central Asia near the end of the century, just in time to miraculously predict (if not actively encourage) the assassination of a former political foe, the Uzbek ruler `Abd al Mu'min Khan (d. 1598)<sup>2</sup>. He himself died soon after at the age of 94 and was buried in a small village near Samarqand, not far from his father's more famous shrine in Dahbid.

Ishaq's posthumous reputation grew over time, and this spiritual inflation resulted in two distinct portraits of the saint. The first period in the growth of his legend came shortly after his death, when a Central Asian disciple named Muhammad 'Iwaz assembled what is perhaps the earliest version of Ishaq's life, the *Ziya al-qulub*<sup>3</sup>. 'Iwaz was probably affiliated with Ishaq's shrine/tomb (*mazar*) near Dahbid and began his compilation of his master's deeds and sayings in 1603/1012. Ishaq also appears in other independent sources from this period, notably in the *Tarikh-i Shah Mahmud Churas*, but the scant attention he receives there suggests that outside of Naqshbandi circles Ishaq was hardly considered a significant spiritual figure<sup>4</sup>. So the matter stood until almost 150 years later, when Ishaq's life suddenly became important to a different group of Naqshbandis in Kashghar. These Naqshbandis were known in later Chinese sources as the "Black Mountain Khawajas" (*the Qarataghliq*) because of their large following among the nomads in the Pamir range. By the mid-18th century the Black Mountain Khawajas had become involved in a protracted, often violent struggle with another Naqshbandi group—the "White Mountain Khawajas" (*the Aqtaghliq*)—for supremacy in what is modern northwestern China. The White Mountain Khawajas were so named based on their popularity among the Kirghiz herds-men, based in the T'ien Shan *Heavenly Mountains*. The teachings of the two groups were nearly identical, and each claimed direct spiritual and biological descent from *Makhdum-i A'zam*. The controversy, however, was over which of *Makhdum-i A'zam*'s sons had been designated as his legitimate spiritual successor. The White Mountain group asserted that it was the eldest son, Muhammad Amin, whom they also claimed as their progenitor. The Black Mountain Khawajas insisted that their ancestor, Khawaja Ishaq, was the rightful *Khalifa*. As tensions rose between the two Naqshbandi groups, so did the need to produce proof of



their claims. Thus, well over a century after his death, Ishaq was recognized as the founder of the Black Mountain Khawajas and given fresh importance in a new body of literature, represented by Muhammad Sadiq Kashghari's well-known *Tadhkira-yi Khwajaqan*<sup>5</sup>. As one might expect, these later accounts of Ishaq emphasizes his status as the sole rightful heir and legitimate successor to *Makhdum-i A'zam*, with only limited and incidental details of his miraculous activities. The most promising record for exploring the saint's use of miracles in his missionary activities is in the earliest impression of Ishaq — the saint as he appears in Muhammad 'Iwaz's *Ziya' al-qulub*.

Ishaq's missionary works appear in anecdotes scattered throughout the text and are not arranged in chronological order. They take place in diverse localities, involve a number of different ethnic groups and describe encounters with nomads who might be shamans or Buddhists. But despite these wide variations in the circumstances of each conversion, a consistent pattern emerges from the narratives. To begin with, each episode is confrontational — Ishaq and Islam are never accepted without a conflict or a contest. Invariably, Ishaq or one of his leading disciples encounters a non-Muslim warrior, magician or leader in a hostile environment. Without any provocation, the unbeliever makes a threat or a challenge against the mystics. Ishaq then responds with an appropriate demonstration of his miraculous power and as a result the infidel and his people (if they survive the wondrous display) convert to Islam on the spot. Conversion is the end result of a mechanism of confrontation, challenge and miracle.

The *Ziya' al qulub* records an example of this pattern in one of Ishaq's encounters with a group of Kirghiz warriors. A lone Kirghiz warrior rode up to the saint and warned him and his disciples that the local ruler planned to kill Ishaq. This is the confrontation and threat. Ishaq declined to hide or flee, and soon the ruler and 400 horsemen approached and made hostile gestures. Suddenly, in the midst of this tense scene, the front legs of the ruler's mount snapped, and the Kirghiz leader was thrown from his horse and killed. This was enough of a miracle to convince his 400 riders, who then threw away their idols (*but*; plural *butha* in the text) and became Muslims<sup>6</sup>.

Several points emerge from this miraculous encounter. First, the subjects of conversion are warriors, lead by their chieftain. The religion of these warriors is not specified in the text: the idols they rejected could have been part of tribal shamanistic tradition, or even reflect the influence of Tibetan Buddhist missionaries known to have been active among the Mongols after 1500<sup>7</sup>. In any case, no non-Muslim "religious specialists" were present, so there was no challenge regarding Islam as a faith, and no disputation of theological issues. Rather, the only contest was a naked threat of violence, which was itself answered by a violent "accident". There is no doubt in the text that Ishaq precipitated the accident by spiritual means, and this illustrates a familiar weapon in a Naqshbandi saint's miraculous arsenal — the miracle of retribution. Examples of this sort of



vengeful miracle abound in Central Asian Naqshbandi literature, and even within Ishaq's own family lineage. Ishaq's ancestor the well-known Naqshbandi Shaykh Khawaja Ahrar (d. 1490) made no secret of his powers, and once warned a dissolute prince to "leave his bad thoughts" or be killed by miraculous means. On another occasion Ahrar listed some of his earlier victims and admitted, "I have also killed others — each time I pass a cemetery, I am ashamed"<sup>8</sup>. About another of Ishaq's relatives, the Naqshbandi Shaykh Sayyid Burhan al-Din, one hagiographer noted simply, "with whomsoever he was angry, that person was sure to die"<sup>9</sup>. This sort of miraculous redress for transgression is commonplace in Naqshbandi hagiography, with the chief punishable offense being improper conduct, the mistake of behaving *bi adabi*. Thus for Ishaq to be protected by lethal miracles is well within established Naqshbandi tradition. But what distinguishes his use of punitive miracles is that his victims are non-Muslims, while the earlier Naqshbandi shaykhs rarely imposed such stern miraculous retribution on infidels. This point will be discussed further below, but another example may be useful here.

In this instance Ishaq dispatched four of his disciples to summon a group of Qalmaqs (Mongols) to his presence. When the sufis arrived to deliver Ishaq's message, they found the Mongols worshipping a fire. The Mongols rejected the summons, and decided instead to cast the four messengers into the fire. They explained that if what Ishaq taught was true, then the four disciples would not be hurt by the flames. The four were barely put in the fire when Ishaq himself suddenly appeared and, with a word, caused the fire to burn many of the Qalmaqs. The four disciples were completely unharmed and after this 1,000 Qalmaq families became Muslims<sup>10</sup>.

Instead of Kirghiz, this story deals with Mongols, and instead of soldiers, families are present. And although the physical threat is not to Ishaq but his disciples, there is a challenge posed to Ishaq's spiritual authenticity. Otherwise, this story resembles the preceding one in its general pattern of confrontation, miraculous punishment and finally conversion to Islam. In this case the Mongols are more confidently identified as shamans rather than Buddhists, but again the conflict has little to do with religious disputation. It is Ishaq's miraculous power to preserve his followers and destroy his skeptics that produce conversion, and not any verbal powers of persuasion.

This terrible aspect of Ishaq's missionary miracle-working is balanced against another, more positive side of his dealings with unbelievers. On at least one occasion Ishaq was able to induce conversion through a miracle of healing. In this account Ishaq had dispatched one of his disciples to a Kirghiz chieftain named Seryoq. Seryoq was desperately ill, and Ishaq's disciple (a man named Khawaja Hashim) watched as his followers tried to cure him through a number of rituals. These included offering food to a silver idol which was surrounded by



one or two thousand other idols made of stone and wood. When all these attempts to heal the chieftain failed, Khawaja Hashim convinced Seryoq and his followers (about 400 families) to pack their idols and go before Ishaq. Ishaq extracted from them the promise that if he could cure Seryoq, they would all become Muslims. They agreed and Ishaq and his disciples busied themselves in prayer. After a moment Seryoq sneezed, stood up, and recited the profession of faith, the *Shahada*. Their ruler cured, the Kirghiz became Muslims and destroyed their idols, taking the silver from the largest and giving it over to the sufis in gratitude<sup>11</sup>.

Again, in analyzing this incident, the religion of the Kirghiz is left ambiguous — either the author was unaware of differences between Buddhist and Shamanistic practice, or was uninterested. The general pattern of confrontation, challenge, miracle, and conversion holds, but the confrontation in this story pits infidel “magical” healing against sufi miraculous healing in a direct competition to save the king. It is a contest of systems rather than beliefs, of technique more than religion. One technique fails, one succeeds, and their collision highlights one of the beneficial supernatural specialities of the Naqshbandi saints — miraculous healing.

Just as the Naqshbandi saints had reputations for afflicting their enemies with illness, so too were they known for curing illness in their clients. Beginning with the namesake of the order himself, Baha' al-din Naqshbandi (d. 1389), members of the *tariqa* were celebrated for healing powers that sometimes went so far as to include raising the dead. Examples from Central Asia and Mughal India relate how various saints employed their “Christ-like gaze” to restore health to both sufis and sultans. Naqshbandi saints sometimes even combined in themselves the roles of physicians and miracle-worker, as in the case of one of Khawaja Ahrar's grandsons who treated his patients with both traditional Islamic medical techniques and Naqshbandi spiritual practice<sup>12</sup>. In a more miraculous vein, Ahrar himself was able to remove illness from one person and inflict it upon another, and *Makhdum-i A'zam* is famous for many healing miracles, including his cure of a sufi who had been addicted to opium for over thirty years<sup>13</sup>. So, when Ishaq cured Seryoq, he was taking part in what was an already centuries old Naqshbandi tradition of miraculous healing. But there is an important difference between Ishaq and his predecessors in the use of their healing powers: Ishaq cured a non-Muslim, while the earlier great Naqshbandi masters cured only believers.

This distinction is suggestive, and parallels the pattern of Ishaq's destructive miracles: recall that in those cases too the recipients had been non-Muslims. Ishaq has extended the range of two of a Naqshbandi shaykh's most formidable miraculous powers — the ability to take or preserve life — to include non-Muslims. This is a real departure from the tradition established by earlier shaykhs such as Ahrar and *Makhdum-i A'zam*, whose saintly grace or wrath could be the expectation of the believer, not the infidel. What explains this expansion of



Ishaq's miraculous domain?

First, Ishaq was active among non-Muslims to a far greater degree than most of the earlier saints in the Naqshbandi tradition. Baha' al-din and Ahrar and *Makhdum-i A'zam* won converts to be sure, but many of these were already Muslims from other sufi orders. Their propagandizing efforts were not usually directed outside the ummah and in fact *Makhdum-i A'zam*, as a result of a severe beating at the hands of a Moghul raiding party, seems to have had little use for the peoples of eastern Turkestan<sup>14</sup>. In any case, missionary activities comprised only a minor element in the spiritual reputations of most of the earlier Naqshbandi shaykhs. By contrast, early in the *Ziya' al-qulub* Ishaq's destruction of eighteen "idol-houses" (*butkhana*) and his conversion of 180,000 infidels are touted as proofs of his status, and are not just incidental to his other gifts.

This emphasis on proselytization in Ishaq's literary image also helps explain the nature of his miracles among the infidels. The more subtle expressions of a shaykh's powers, such as the ability to foresee the future, read minds, interpret and appear in dreams, occupy two places at once, and the like, appear only when Ishaq is in the company of his Muslim disciples. They are missing from the *Ziya' al-qulub* in the conversion episodes. In these instances Ishaq's powers are stripped down to the basics — he either cures the infidel leader or, more commonly, destroys him. On the frontier and among tribal peoples Ishaq — or perhaps one should say his hagiographer — displays only the most dramatic aspect of his gifts.

It is interesting to note here Muhammad 'Iwaz's genral portrayal of the infidels in these anecdotes. Ishaq encountered only what seem to be generic unbelievers, with individuals seldom identified by name and never any shamans or Buddhists willing to probe Islam as a set of beliefs. Any rituals are barely described, and there is not even the grudging recognition that the spiritual elites among the infidels possess any sort of supernatural powers. But if Muhammad 'Iwaz faults the infidels for their religion, nowhere does he critique or insult them as ethnic groups. This is not the case in many conversion tales from South Asia, where although Muslims and Hindus may debate the finer points of their respective traditions and even concede one another unusual powers, they also often interject sharp judgements pertaining to race and social custom<sup>16</sup>.

In sum, Ishaq's marvels among the infidels represent an extension of the traditional miracles a Central Asian Naqshbandi shaykh would have used to bless or curse his Muslim friends or foes. With missionary activity more important for Ishaq's image than it was for earlier masters, Muhammad 'Iwaz produced suitable examples that demonstrated Ishaq's most powerful gifts over life and death. It hardly mattered that the converted infidels possessed little independent identity and no religion recognizable beyond simple "idol-worship". 'Iwaz cannot be faulted if his account is not an ethnographic record of the peoples Ishaq



## Some aspects of Sufis, Miracles and Conversion

encountered, but this decided lack of interest may signal a different and subtle intent in the work — an attempt to parallel Ishaq's destruction of idols and "idol-houses" with similar works performed by the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.) himself. It is dangerous to make too much of this, but the possibility that 'Iwaz meant to invest even by implication, Ishaq with certain prophetic attributes cannot be discounted.

How can this literary, miraculous portrayal of Ishaq's missionary work in Central Asia contribute to a more historically-minded model of the spread of Islam in Central and Inner Asia? Part of Ishaq's experience in eastern Turkestan agrees with the standard view, which depicts Islam as trickling down from an urban-based ruling elite to various tribal chieftains whose nominal conversion to Islam also meant the conversion of their followers. In this view sufis invited into the region by Muslim rulers — as was the case with Ishaq — provided an Islamic link between nomadic tribes, urban populations, and a growing segment of cultivators as new revenue — extracting military patronage states took shape. These sufis brought Islam to marginal tribal groups at the same time that these groups were being incorporated into newly-emergent political and economic entities. The problem with this theory is that aside from the fact that Ishaq was invited into eastern Turkestan by the ruler, little in his reported experience supports the idea that he was a "link" between the social groups noted above. The *Ziya' al-qulub* relates simply that Ishaq received support from the people of eastern Turkestan, but with no more detail than that it is impossible to assert that he could bind urban guild members with village farmers and nomadic herdsman in devotion to him. The crucial element missing in this portrait is the work of Ishaq's local disciples, those few members of the various tribal groups that became his full-time *murids*. They stayed behind when Ishaq returned to Samarkand, and they lived, worked and inter-married into the bazaars, villages and nomad camps of eastern Turkestan. Review the stories noted earlier, and note the pivotal roles of Ishaq's disciples as his messengers and intermediaries. Joseph Fletcher points out the conversion activities of one of Ishaq's disciples named Mulla Hikmati, and the later *Tadhkira-yi Khwajagan* records a suggestive episode that took place after Ishaq had returned to Central Asia<sup>17</sup>. In this case Ishaq had left behind as his successor in Kashghar a disciple named Ushtur *Khalifa*, but soon after Ishaq left the Khan and people of Kashghar abandoned the order and returned to their worship of a shrine at Turfan. Ushtur *Khalifa* accompanied them there on pilgrimage and, perhaps seeking to emulate his master's idol-smashing ways, sat atop the grave and kicked at it in derision. All this accomplished, however, was to awaken a dragon within the tomb that now came out to devour Ushtur. At that very moment in Samarkand Ishaq miraculously became aware of Ushtur's plight, and delivered him with the sacrifice of one of his own sons. Ushtur was saved, the shrine was destroyed, and the Kashgharis returned to Islam<sup>18</sup>. In this story seemingly it is the disciple who does the missionary work and the master — even from the safe distance of Samarkand



-who receives the credit. Without much exaggeration one can claim that it was the Ushtur *Khalifas*, Mulla Hikmatis and Khawaja Hashims that helped produce Ishaq's reputation as a great missionary of Islam in Central and Inner Asia.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Simon Digby gives examples of miraculous conversion in South Asia in his "Encounters with Jogis in Indian Sufi Hagiography" (presented at the Seminar on "Aspects of Religion in South Asia", held at the University of London, May, 1976), as does P. M. Currie in *The Shrine and Cult of Mu'in al-din Chisti of Ajmer* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989). See too Bruce Lawrence, "Islam in India: The Function of Institutional Sufism in the Islamization of Rajasthan, Gujarat and Kashmir", *Contributions to Asian Studies* vol. 17 (1982): 27-43, and Richard M. Eaton's important analysis "Approaches to the study of Conversion to Islam in India", in Richard C. Martin, editor, *Approaches to Islam in Religious Studies* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1985). For Central Asia, Joseph Fletcher's article "Confrontations between Muslim Missionaries and Nomad Unbelievers in the Late Sixteenth Century: Notes on Four Passages from the *Diya al-Qulub*" in W. Heissing, J.R. Krueger, F. J. Oinas and E. Schutz, editors, *Tractata Altaica* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1976) is one of the few explorations of the topic.
2. Joseph Fletcher, "Central Asian Sufism and Ma Ming-Hsin's New Teaching", in Ch'en Chieh-hsien, editor, *Proceedings of the Fourth East Asian Altaistic Conference* (Taipei: National Taiwan University, 1975), p. 94, n. 14.
3. All references are to a uncatalogued copy of the manuscript graciously provided by the curator of the Houghton Library of the Harvard University Library.
4. Shah Mahmud Charus, *Tarikh-i Shah Mahmud Charus: Khronika*, edited with Russian translation by Oleg Akimushkin (Moscow: 1976).
5. R.B. Shaw's translation, "The History of the Khojas of Eastern-Turkistan, summarised from the *Tazkira-i Khawajagan* of Muhammad Sadiq Kashgari," edited by N. Elias, supplement to *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* 66, part I (1897).
6. *Ziya' al-qulub*, folios 22v-23v. Fletcher ("Confrontations", op. cit. P. 171) also notes this incident.
7. Fletcher, "Confrontations", o. cit., P. 168-169.
8. Jo-Ann Gross, *Khoja Ahrar: A Study of the Perceptions of Religious Power and Prestige in the Late Timurid Period* (Doctoral Dissertation, New York University, 1982), P. 79. Chapter III in particular addresses Ahrar's miracles.
9. Shaw, "History of the Khojas", op. cit., P.31.
10. *Ziya' al-Qulub*, folios 134v-135v.
11. *Ibid.*, folios 74v-76v.
12. This saint — known as Khawaja Nura — appears in Mirza Muhammad Haider Dughlat, *A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia, being the Tarikh-i-Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Haider Dughlat*, translated by Denison Ross and edited by N. Elias (London: Curzon Press, 1972), pp. 395-401.



13. For Ahrar see Henry Beveridge, "The *Rashahat-i 'ainal-hayat* (Tricklings From the Fountain of Life)", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (January, 1916), p.75; for *Makhdum-i A'zam* see Beveridge, "The Khojas of eastern Turkistan," *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* 71, part 1 (1902), p.45/
14. Joseph Fletcher, "Brief history of the Naqshbandiyya in China," Unpublished paper, (Centre of Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard university, November 1, 1978), p.9.
15. *Ziya' al-Qulub*, folio 4v.
16. Digby, "Encounters with Jogis", op. cit., pp. 4-5, for a summary of some anti-Hindu sufi opinions from India and also Currie, *Shrine and Cult of Mu'in al-din Chisti*, op. cit., pp. 66-85, for some equally unflattering views.
17. Fletcher, "Confrontations", op. cit., p. 171 and Shaw, "History of the Khojas", p. 34.
18. Shaw, "History of the Khojas", op. cit., p.34.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

BEVERIDGE, H. The *Rashahat-i 'ainal-hayat* (Tricklings From the Fountain of Life); *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, January, 1916, pp. 59-75.

IBID. The Khojas of Eastern Turkistan; *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 71, part 1, 1902.

CHURAS, SHAH MAHMUD, *Tarikh-i Shah Mahmud Churas: Khronika*. Edited with Russian translation by Oleg Akimushkin. Moscow, 1976.

CURRIE, P.M., *The Shrine and Cult of Mu'in al-din Chisti of Ajmer*. Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1989.

DIGBY, S., Encounters with Jogis in Indian Sufi Hagiography. Paper presented at the seminar "Aspects of Religion in South Asia" held at the University of London, May, 1976.

DUGHLAT, MIRZA MUHAMMAD HAIDER. *A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia, being the Tarikh-i-Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Haider Dughlat*. Translated by Denison Ross and edited by N. Elias. Curzon Press, London, 1972.

EATON, R.M., Approaches to the Study of Conversion to Islam in India. In Richard C. Martin, editor, *Approaches to Islam in Religious Studies*. The University of Arizona Press, Tucson, 1985.

FLETCHER, J., Brief History of the Naqshbandiyya in China. Unpublished paper, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Centre for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University, November 1, 1978.

IBID., Confrontation between Muslim Missionaries and Nomad Unbelievers in the Later Sixteenth Century: Notes on Four Passages from the *Diya' al-Qulub*. In W. Heissig, J.R. Krueger, F.J. Oinas and E. Schitz, editors, *Tractata Altaica*. Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1976.

IBID., Central Asian Sufism and Ma Ming-Hsin's New Teachings. In Ch'en Chieh-hsien, editor, *Proceedings of the Fourth East Asian Altaistic Conference*. National Taiwan University, Taipei, 1975.

GROSS, J.A. *Khoja Ahrar: A Study of the Perceptions of Religious Power and Prestige in the Late Timurid*



*Period.* Doctoral Dissertation, New York University, 1982.

'IWAZ, MUHAMMAD, *Ziya' al-Qulub*. All references are to an uncatalogued copy of the manuscript graciously provided by the curator of the Houghton Library of the Harvard University Library.

Lawrence, B.B., Islam in India : The Function of Institutional Sufism in the Islamization of Rajasthan, Gujarat and Kashmir; *Contributions to Asian Studies* Vol. 17, 1982, 00 27-43.

SHAW, R.B., The History of the Khojas of Eastern-Turkistan, summarised from the *Tazkira-i-Khawajagan* of Muhammad Sadiq Kashghari. Edited by N. Elias, supplement to *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* Vol. 66, part 1, 1897.



## POLITICAL CHANGE IN BUKHARA 1918-20

\* *Ram Rahul*

Bukhara is an ancient land. Its glory and splendour resound in legend folklore, and in poetry. The Aryans, the Huns and other tribes of ancient Central Asia nomadized there. Before Islam, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism and Christianity spread, and prospered there. It was the stomping ground of Alexander of Macedonia and Chinggis Khan of the Mongols. Among great men, Ulugh Bek and Ali Shir Novoi were natives of Bukhara.

This article studies the last phase of the emirate of Bukhara from 1785, when Masoom Khan founded its Mangit Uzbek dynasty, to 1920, when Sayid Alim, the last Emir fled the country.

The revolutionary turmoil in the centre of the Russian empire had reached Bukhara through the advanced Muslims of the Crimea, the Caucasus and the Volga regions who were serving as links between Jadidism, the Muslim cultural reform movement in Russia and Central Asia. Small groups of intellectuals in Russian Central Asia and Bukhara had taken the term *Jadid*, 'innovation', from the newspapers and journals of the Tatars of the Crimea.

In Bukhara, *Jadidism* had developed from a cultural movement advocating modern education into a secret movement advocating political reform. This change had come mainly through the stimulus of the Persian and Turkish revolutions of 1906 and 1908 respectively. The Jadids of Bukhara, who had advocated secular education in Bukhara, had also demanded the establishment of a proper economic system, especially the collection of taxes. They had also vaguely dreamt of a constitution similar to that of the young Turks of Ottoman Turk. Emir Mir Alim (r. 1910-20) of course had persecuted them. Their cultural work had met with the resistance of even the masses who were under the sway of Mullahs, and the mosques. In this manifesto of 18 July 1914, Emir Mir Alim closed all *Jadid* schools. A few *Jadid* schools however had managed to survive. The rallying point for anything forward-looking in Bukhara, these schools had played a significant role in forging the leadership of the impending revolution in Bukhara.

---

\* Professor, formerly Director Central Asian Studies, School of International Studies, J.N.U. Delhi.



The overthrow of Tsar Nikolai (r.1893-1917) and the rise of the Provisional Government in Petrograd (the name of the Russian capital had been changed to Petrograd in the first year of World War) in February 1917 brought the *Jadids* of Bukhara into the limelight. In response to a congratulatory telegram from the *Jadids*, the provisional Government sent a dispatch to A.Ya.Miller, the representative of former Russian government in Bukhara and to Emir Mir Alim, urging reform. Assured of the support of the Provisional Government the revolutionary organizations of Bukhara became assertive in their demands. But the provisional Government, too busy with its own problems of continuing the imperialist war and counteracting the second wave of revolutionary activity, paid no further heed to Bukhara. So preoccupied was it with the task of stopping the advance of Bolshevism that, except redesignating its political agent as Resident, it did not physically appoint its own representative to Bukhara. It retained Miller, the Tsar's representative, in that post. Miller, instead of assisting the revolutionaries of Bukhara, co-operated with the Emir. However, the clamour for reform was so great that Miller had no alternative but persuade Emir Alim to issue the following Manifesto on 7 April 1917:

"As ever concerned with the welfare and happiness of our people, we have resolved to institute widespread reforms in the various branches of our administration, eradicating all abuses and irregularities on the basis of elections to office as demanded by our people.

"Remanding all our subjects that the only possible basis for reform and all improvement is the holy *Shariat*, we call upon every one to aid us in carrying out our firm decision to illumine Bukhara with the light of progress and knowledge that will be useful to the people of Bukhara. Above all, we shall lay an unshakable foundation for the just administration of our laws and the collection of revenues and taxes. Furthermore, we shall pay special attention to the development of commerce and industry in our Emirate, particularly with mighty Russia. All officials and government employees shall be subject to strict control, and shall receive specified salaries, and shall be forbidden to receive any other compensation for performing their official duties. Also we shall adopt every possible measure to encourage, throughout our domain the growth and development of useful knowledge in full accord with the dictates of the *Shariat*.

"In our solicitude over the welfare of our subjects who reside in our capital, we have resolved to allow them to elect a council from among those whom the population deems most worthy and honourable and who will assume the responsibility of improving



the sanitary and living conditions in the first city in our realm. We also deem it necessary henceforth to establish a state treasury, to adopt a state budget, and to keep a strict account of all the revenue and expenditure of the government. Believing that all our subjects should be regularly informed as to the exact nature of our efforts and decrees pertaining to their well-being and happiness, we hereby order the establishment in our capital of printing, as the need arises, of news that may be of general use and that may help our subjects to obtain useful information. To provide for the welfare of our people, we have made every effort to issue in our emirate the development of self government whenever and how-ever circumstances may demand it.

"To celebrate this solemn occasion, we, working hand in hand with our mighty protectress, Russia, with the consent and approval of our people, hereby order the release of all those who are at present confined in our prisons".

The Manifesto, pledging fiscal, judicial and education reforms, representative self-government for the capital city, a general amnesty, etc., satisfied no one. On the other hand, the government arrested and flogged the leaders of the revolutionary movement. The Russian workers in Kaga, the railway station near Bukhara, protested. Emir Alim frightened by the alliance between the Russian workers and the revolutionaries of Bukhara, released the revolutionaries. The death of Mirza Nasrullah, one of the leading *Jadids*, shocked the people. The revolutionaries decided to negotiate with the Emir for an amnesty for the political prisoners and the status of legality for their organisation. Faizullah Khojaev, a radical *Jadid*, has thus described those events in his memoirs: *Istoriia revoliutsii v Bukhara* (Tashkent, 1926).

"On Friday morning we boarded a passenger train to Bukhara, where we were met by several officials in the Emir's carriages. We were all seated in pairs, each pair accompanied by two officials. I found myself alongside [Muhiddin] Mansurov. We were driving through the market place just at the hour when the worshippers were leaving the numerous mosques. In the very centre of Registan, a crowd of about 5,000 people awaited us. All along the road, the crowds jeered and threw stones at us. That boded little good for our delegation. We finally arrived.....

"Within a couple of hours we were all invited into the Emir's throne-room. Escorted by the Russian authorities, we proceeded thereto in pairs, not even inquiring as to why we were being taken there. In the throne room we met the entire administration of Bukhara,



dignitaries of all ranks and chief mullahs arrayed with shouts and cries and abusive language.

"Mansurov delivered the opening remarks. He said: "We, the citizens of Bukhara, love and respect our fatherland and the existing order. Although we criticized the manifesto of His Highness as not having altogether fallen in with our aims, we now extend our hand to you, great people of the state. May the will of the Emir be done." No sooner did Mansurov begin to speak, than they all jumped up, waved their sticks, called the delegation traitors and infidels. The Emir finally rose and addressed Mansurov and the officials thus: "You, and you my subjects, there is some misunderstanding among you. All this will pass, calm yourselves. As it was, so it shall be." With these words he quickly left the room.

"We heard the raging and raving of a huge mob near the very wall of the castle, demanding the surrender of our delegation. Only then did we realize the real purpose of the Emir and Miller. However, we kept in the corridor and then, amidst the shouts of the retreating crowd, were led back to our former places. There we spent the whole day listening to the excited mob still clamouring for our surrender.

"Now the true role of the representatives of the Provisional Government fully revealed itself. Miller and [Attache P.P] Vvedenski made every effort to create the impression that they were the messengers rather than the collaborators of the Emir. They were busy running back and forth, now coming to us, now going to the Emir, now appearing before the people, supposedly to calm them, but in reality as desirous of our end as the mob outside was. But, in contrast to them, there was another element at work, an element which had already cast off the yoke of Tsarism, and which later proved to be the emancipator of Bukhara - the revolutionary masses of the East, working hand in hand with the Russian workers and peasants. Were it not for the intervention of this group, the bourgeois babblers and traitors - Miller and his colleagues who under the mask of liberalism concealed their reactionary nature - would, no doubt, have handed us over to the brutality of the mob. It was they, the revolutionary Russian army and the workers of New Bukhara, the Russian settlement, who frustrated the hellish plans of the Emir and his Russian henchmen. The first to come to our aid were the workers of New Bukhara with whom our Young Bukharan Party maintained the closest contact, then the revolutionary army stationed in New Bukhara and on the railway stations of Old Bukhara. But of all this our delegation knew nothing. During our



entire stay at the palace, we were awaiting death either at the hands of the hangman or the infuriated mob.

"Then the unexpected happened - we were visited by Kushbegi Nasrullah and [Kushbegi designate Nizamuddin] Urgandji. they both with one voice announced that the Emir regretted the entire affair, that he was indignant at the fanaticism of the mob, whose number by that time had swollen to 10,000, which for the last twelve hours had been demanding the execution of the delegation or its surrender. However, neither thing happened since the Emir was anxious that everything end amicably. Then Urgandji said that by morning we should probably be released. Evidently the visit of the revolutionary workers and soldiers had its effect on the Emir and his officials.. Urgandji further stated that the members of the Soviets of New Bukhara were tired and were therefore obliged to leave. We protested very energetically against the departure of the only trustworthy protectors we had. And, of course, they agreed to remain with us.

"When Miller noticed how readily the Soviets offered to help us, he became alarmed and immediately began to make arrangements for our release. By twelve o'clock we were freed and on our way back to New Bukhara where we were met by cheering crowds of railway and cotton ginning factory workers ....."

With the visit to the Emir ended the *Jadid* organization, and the chairmanship of Mansurov. The new organization - Young Bukhara Party - broke with many of the evils of *Jadidism*, especially its political wavering. Simultaneous with the strengthening of its activities in the provinces and the villages, the young Bukhara Party began the struggle to overthrow the Emir and establish people's power in Bukhara. Faizullah Khojaev eventually, in 1924 to be exact, became Prime Minister of the Uzbek SSR. The Soviet Government executed him in 1938. But this is anticipating history.

The Bolshevik proclamation to the muslims of Russia and East deeply stirred the *Jadids* and the Young Bukharans. However, the fundamental difference in the various attitudes ranging from constitutional democracy to national self-determination, the Nationalist *Jadids* thought it best for Bukhara to overthrow the Emir, break away from Bolshevik Russia and form a democratic republic. Most of them came to doubt the sincerity of Bolshevik protestations concerning the right of each nation to form a separate independent state. The radical *Jadids* expressed faith in the sincerity of the Bolsheviks.

Fearing for his throne, Emir Alim broke off his relations with Red Petrograd and Soviet Turkistan and negotiated for help with the Russian Whites, the British imperialists and Amir Amanullah of Afghanistan. He took measures to stop the



growth of revolutionary sentiment among his subjects. The great advantage he had over the Reds was the exceedingly thin proletarian stratum in Bukhara, and not only in Bukhara but in entire Central Asia, the small group of Russian and native revolutionists. The readiness of the mob to lynch the very moderate *Jadids* during their visits to him had indicated what treatment the revolutionists could expect at the hands of fanatics. The *Jadids* were then saved by the revolutionary Russian soldiers and workers from Kagan. But obviously there were not enough Russian workers in the emirate to effect an overturn against the will of millions of natives, even if such a course were feasible.

To overthrow the Emir, the young Bukharan Party, still too weak to attempt anything by itself, had to seek outside help, especially from Soviet Turkistan, where the few Russian Bolshevik and railway workers who had happened to be in Central Asia during the October days, had formed a government at Tashkent. And that was precisely what the Young Bukharan Party did. It contacted F. Kolesov, the chairman of Council of People's Commissar in Tashkent, who promised to help it. But owing to unforeseen developments Kolesov was unable to provide the promised help. Soviet Turkistan itself was in a highly precarious situation, busy fighting for its own existence. Just when, with Kolesov's aid, the Young Bukharan Party was to start the armed insurrection in Bukhara, two events, besides other hurdles, happened which threatened the very existence of Soviet Turkistan, the loss of contact with central government in Petrograd and the proclamation of Autonomous Turkistan in Kokand with Mustafa Chokaev as its President on 27 December 1917. The small and poorly equipped forces of Kolesov became involved in two major military operations. The first and the most protracted operation being against Ataman Dutov. A Muslim Central Asian Conference held in Kokand on 25 November 1917, with delegates from Fergans, Samarkand, Semirechie and Transcaspia, etc., endorsed the government of Autonomous Turkistan (Kokand). The government in Kokand appealed for help to Ataman Dutov, who ordered several Cossack detachments in Orenburg to advance along the Central Asian railway and help the counter-revolution in Kokand. The government of Autonomous Turkistan, however, fell on 19 February 1918. Detachments of Kolesov's Red Guards, which had arrived in Kokand on 14 February 1918, launched an offensive against Old Kokand and smashed the army of the Kokand government on 20 February 1918. At any rate, this conflagration led to the birth of the Basmachi movement.

After liquidating the Kokand menace, Kolesov turned his attention to the city of Bukhara. The influx of the Whites from Kokand and elsewhere into Bukhara was rapidly turning it into the spot of anti-Soviet activity in Central Asia, especially when it became known that the Emir was in contact with the British intelligence agents in Meshed (North-East Persia) and Kashgar (Sinkiang). Kolesov and Faizullah Khojaev, the then chairman of the Young Bukharan Party, side by side with the *Jadids*, issued an ultimatum to the Emir, demanding immediate reforms



to be put into effect by a body elected from the Young Bokharan Party and headed by the Emir himself.

The Emir hedged for time. Kolesov refused to wait and ordered his troops, accompanied by the Young Bukharans, to advance on the city. According to Khojaev himself, the loyal followers of the Emir offered heroic resistance. "The fanatical adherents of the old, the mullahs, though badly armed - with knives, axes, rusty swords - fought desperately. I myself saw how one of them, holding a cudgel in his hand and a long knife in the mouth, advanced unflinchingly against our machine guns and hurled himself against and killed one of our gunners." The Emir, who saw his defeat, sued for peace. He accepted all the demands of the revolutionaries. Kolesov ordered the Red forces to return to Kagan, the railway town on the outskirts of Bukhara.

Emir Mir Alim issued a second Manifesto, more radical than the first. It read:

"In the name of our great God, We proclaim to our entire people that a nation can have no greater happiness than the possession of equality and liberty. We fully realize that if our people be denied its rights and its liberty, if the administration be not reformed in the spirit of the times, we shall fail to attain a happy and peaceful life in our land. We recognize that the primary cause of the backwardness, darkness, ignorance of our people is due to the inadequacy of the structure of our administration and the people's enslavement.

"Having become conscious of these circumstances and having determined to better the lot of our people and our country, We had issued a Manifesto eleven months ago, which, due to the machinations of a few satraps, remained inoperative. This brought great evils upon our people, we in issuing this second Manifesto, hereby proclaim to our people that it represents our firm decision".

Kolesov and the Young Bukharans also demanded immediate disarming of the Emir's forces. The Emir stalled, saying that while he personally should be happy to fulfill this demand, his soldiers and mullahs were so aroused that it would be difficult to persuade them to lay down their arms. The Emir asked for three days in which to disarm; Kolesov reduced it to twenty-four hours. Accordingly to the arrangement the revolutionaries were to supervise the disarming of the forces of the Emir and the Young Bukharans were to occupy the city immediately after that. While Kolesov and the Young Bukharans waited in Kagan for news from Bukhara, the Emir seized and executed their representatives and reorganized his forces to attack and wipe out the small contingent of the insurgents. He gained time not only to concentrate his troops, but also took advantage of the most vulnerable spot in the ranks of the revolutionaries, namely



the presence of Russians among them. His slogan was : "resist the foreign invaders". He declared *Jehad* (holy war) against the infidels and traitors who had sold out their country and their faith. Before the revolutionaries realized the magnitude of the uprising, their artillery, cannons and machine guns, seemed to work against them. Ammunition being almost exhausted, Kolesov smashed through the enemy ranks and hastily retracted towards Tashkent. Such was the inglorious end of the first Soviet attempt to overthrow Emir Alim.

The anti-Soviet forces overthrew, with British help, the Soviet power in Ashkabad, and set up an anti-Soviet government. The Emir knew well how severe a blow that was to Soviet Turkistan. He was quite certain that Soviets of Turkistan would be too busy on the Transcaspian front to "meddle" in his affairs. Of course, he did not know that life itself had been preparing for revolution in his Bukhara. the peasants, the main stay of his power, had begun to heed the revolutionary slogans which, despite all his precautions, charged the atmosphere. His soldiers too, irregularly paid, ill-clad and ill-housed, were beginning to desert. Concurrently, the young Bukharan Party in Tashkent was adopting the militant programme of the Bolsheviks. Perhaps the Emir also did not know that the Young Bukharan Party in Tashkent had re-established contact with the underground revolutionary groups in the Emirate.

British withdrawal of its forces from Transcaspia, leaving only a small detachment at Krasnovodsk, stunned Emir Alim. British withdrawal from Transcaspia was not a matter of conscience or free choice. The British Government needed its forces elsewhere. Amir Amanullah (1919-29) of Afghanistan had dared to challenge the British lion. On 18 September 1919, the Red forces of General M.V. Frunze on the eastern front, demolished the crack army of Ataman Dutov by the Aral Sea railway station and drove him into Semirechie. And their joining with the Red forces from the Centre ended the isolation of Soviet Turkistan, even though the land contact had already been re-established early in 1919. the wiping out of the armies of General Kolchak in Siberia and of General Denikin in South Russia and the Caucasus deeply distressed Emir Alim. On 6 January 1920, the Bolsheviks captured Krasnovodsk, the last stronghold of the anti-Soviet forces on the Transcaspian front. In the spring the Reds annihilated General Annenkov's armies and the remnants of Dutov's armies in Semirechie. Boris V. Annenkov and Aleksandr C. Dutov, along with hundreds of their officers and men, escaped to Sinkiang, China.

Developments in Khiva were equally disquieting. Junaid Khan, the Turkman usurper in Khiva, met with serious reverses, the Turkman chieftains deserting him. The Young Khivans, the political cousins of the Young Bukharans, came out into the open in most cities of the Khanate, carrying their propaganda among the population. The strange thing was that the young Khivans, who described themselves as "Bolsheviks", were really not Bolsheviks, they were just middle class



conservative muslims to rise against Junaïd Khan and his Turkman Hordes. Why, Emir Alim wondered, did they call themselves Bolsheviks and popularize the name among the masses?

With the tightening of the ring of revolution around Bukhara, Emir Alim, in the last despairing spurt of energy, resolved to give battle. He repressed the slightest sign of disaffection in Bukhara and financed the counter-revolutionary Basmachis in Ferghana. Above all, he tried to strike up friendship with Amir Amanullah of Afganistan, exchanging embassies. Amir Amanullah presented Emir Alim several cannon. Perhaps Amir Amanullah, in flirting with Emir Alim, cherished the hope of uniting all the Muslims under the banner of Pan Islamism carried by Afghanistan. Whether or not, Amir Amanullah really entertained such grandiose hope is difficult to say. However, he was cautious in his policy. While helping Emir Alim morally and materially in his overtures and encouraging the Basmachis, he took care not to antagonize the Soviets. Indeed, he was among the first to recognize Soviet Russia.

By August 1920 conditions were ripe for a second revolutionary advance against Emir Alim. The Bukharan refugees in Tashkent and the Bureau of the Young Bukharan Party there launched a propaganda campaign among the peasants of Bukhara and the army of the Emir. "Fellow countrymen", they wrote, "be not afraid, justice and power is on your side ... Bloody Nicholas is no more. the Tsarist friends of the Emir who might have taken sides with him and sent the Russian army against you have long since been hurled out of Russia. There is now only the worker's and peasant's Red Army which is wholly on our side, and which is always ready to come to our aid."

A conference of the Young Bukharan Party, which met in Charjui on 18 August 1920, decided on an armed uprising in Bukhara. The armed uprising of peasants supported by armed contingents of Young Bukharans and Russian railway workers of Charjui occupied the city on 29 August. Immediately the Young Bukharan Party issued a proclamation, declaring all the lands as well as irrigation canals to be the property of the people. It pronounced the real and personal property of the Emir's officials, of the clergy, and of all active counter-revolutionaries subject to confiscation by the state. It promised a Kuriltai (assembly) convention of the people's representatives to carry out the task of land and water reforms and of taking over all enterprises for the benefit of the state. It also addressed an appeal to the government, the proletariat and the Red Army, wherein the Young Bukharans, speaking in the name of the people of Bukhara, requested the government of Soviet Russia to help them in their struggle against the Emir.

On 28 August 1920, General M.V.Frunze, Commander of the Red Army forces on the Turkistan front, ordered the troops to help the Young Bukharans.



On 31 August, excepting the heir and other sons, Emir Mir Alim, along with his entourage and a small contingent of troops, escaped to Dushambe in the Pamir mountains. Soviet troops apprehended the heir and other sons of the Emir. The Young Bukharan Party organized revolutionary Committee and the Soviet of People's Commissars in Bukhara. A *Kuriltai* of the representatives of the peoples of Bukhara met and declared Bukhara the *Bukhara Khalaq shorlar Jamhuriyeti*; the Bukhara people's Soviet Republic. the Soviet government recognized it on 6 November 1920. It abrogated all treaties and agreements concluded with the Emir of Bukhara by the Tsarist government and renounced all rights of Tsarist Russia in the Emirate. And so on. The government of the Soviet Republic of Bukhara and the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR) entered into political, military and economic alliance on 4 March 1921.

Bukhara was a state in the medieval sense of the term. The Emir, its head, ruled despotically, and autocratically. Even the connection of Bukhara with Russia led to no change in his medieval, feudal outlook, and the life and condition of the people of his Emirate. From the beginning of the Mangit dynasty in 1785 to its very end in 1920 Bukhara remained, as before, a medieval and feudal state.

Bukhara had abundant natural resources. But the Emir and his government did nothing to develop them. Even agriculture, the mainstay of the people, remained backward, and undeveloped. The government did not improve even cotton, the gold of Bukhara. It did not fully harness the river waters for irrigation, and so on.

Bukhara needed reforms but, till the very end of the Emirate, the Emir was adamantly relentless. Liberal Bukharians and those who had visited Tsarist Russia and Ottoman Turkey for trade and pilgrimage wanted to create for the people of Bukhara the modern way of life they had observed in those countries. Even the *Jadids*, who eventually ousted the Emir, were initially for educational reforms only. the Mullahs, however, had come down heavily on them all. The reforms pledged by Emir Alim (r.1910-20), the last Emir of Bukhara, remained mere pledges. Only the slave trade, and slavery had been abolished. To keep himself on the throne, Emir Alim had even sought external intervention, but in vain.

Centralized administration in West Central Asia provided institutional cohesion. But the medieval administrative infrastructure of the state of Bukhara was not adequate for a modern state(s). The *Jadids* were most aware of this. Even Emir Alim eventually accepted, in his second manifesto, its inadequacy. And Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmanistan to an extent, which emerged out of the Emirate of Bukhara, took over none of its political and administrative institutions. In any case, the forthcoming Soviet State system in Central Asia would have none of it.



## IBN SINA'S APPROACH TO PHYSICS

\*H.S. Virk

Ibn Sina's works mark the flowering season of Islamic philosophy which coincided with Persian renaissance of the tenth century. This was a period in eastern Persia when literary creation matched the high tide of scientific achievement. The century saw both the birth of the *Shah-nama*, the Persian National epic, and the writings of al-Biruni, the outstanding Islamic savant. The pursuit of free enquiry was not yet frozen into regimented thought. Ibn Sina represents the culmination of Islamic rational thinking in its most characteristic form. It is amazing Ibn Sina should have risen to the heights of intellectual and scholarly achievements despite a career characterized by political and personal upheavals.

At the age of eighteen, Ibn Sina had mastered all the known sciences. He was a scientific man who attempted to bring the Greek theories, to the level of that which needs to be expressed by the study of concrete, when apprehended by a great mind.

A paragraph from his autobiography reveals his immense power of comprehension, "For a year and a half, night and day, I was reading logic and studying the different branches of philosophy. When I was unable to solve any problem, I would go to the mosque and pray to God to open the closed door to me. Then I would return to my study. When sleep was overcoming me, I would wisely drink a goblet of pure wine. This would bring intelligence to my mind and power to my body. Then I would resume my study. Sometimes when sleep did overwhelm me I would solve the problems I was unable to answer before, in my dreams. This happened often. In this way I continued until I was learned in the subjects of logic, mathematics and physics as I am today."

In the *Danish nama*, we possess a complete, though concise outline of Ibn Sina's philosophy, namely logic, metaphysics, physics, and mathematics. Of an Aristotelian bend of mind, Ibn Sina shows in his teachings the characteristics of Peripatetic philosophy. He expands and develops Aristotle's logic and metaphysics but does not go beyond his mentor in case of physics. From Aristotle, he adopts also the notion of the categories, matter and form, potentiality and actuality, and in general, follow him in terminology.

According to Ibn Sina, "The Sciences are founded on experiences and reasoning. They have objects, questions and premises. As there are universal premises, so each science has its own peculiar premises. The different objects of

\* Head, Department of Physics, Guru Nank Dev University, Amritsar, Punjab



the sciences establish a hierarchy among themselves, according to their dignity. Besides this, the sciences are divided into theoretical science and practical science. The principal subjects of theoretical science are physics, mathematics, and theology; and of practical, applied physics, mechanics and art, and ethics." The problem of the classification of the sciences was very popular in the Middle Ages both in the East and the West.

In the philosophical part of his physics, Avicenna discusses several of the primary ideas of the human intellect, e.g. power, time and movement. He desires from physics a first acquaintance the ideas which Scholasticism employs in logic and metaphysics, that is, to say that with the idea of form and matter and the categories. The ideas of form and matter are suggested observations of the physical world: Physical bodies, strictly speaking are constituted of two principles, matter and form; then there are attached to them the accidents which arise from the existence of the nine categories. Scholasticism divides these accidents into primary qualities, which are inherent in the body, and secondary qualities, which can be taken away without annihilating the body, but which contribute to its perfection.

Avicennian conception of power is more closely allied to dynamics than to statics. He is interested in the energy acting from within the body rather than in the forces which move it from without. Like Aristotle, he allows that each body has a natural place to which it always returns, by some hidden power, when it has been removed from it. The commonest example of these innate powers is 'weight'. This idea of power is developed in psychology and metaphysics. In physics there is no infinite power. Its effects are always either greater or less. Avicenna recognised the principle of the mechanics that 'what is gained in power is lost in speed.'

Time, he explains by movement, and it cannot be imagined otherwise. Time cannot be conceived in immobility, it would then be of fixed duration, and no longer true time. Bodies,' says Avicenna, "are in the time not in their essence, because they are in movement, and movement is in time. Time was created and it is nowhere except in itself. For the world in general, it is measured by the movement of the stars.'

Avicenna also speaks of the locality of bodies, then of space and impenetrability. He tries to show, by somewhat subtle, reasoning, that bodies cannot move in a vacuum, because he thinks, the dimensions of a vacuum are impenetrable, from which he concludes that a vacuum does not exist. He does not admit the possibility of actual infinity. Like the ancients, he believes that the world is finite, and that there is outside of it neither fullness nor emptiness, but absolute nothingness. He admits, again that bodies are divisible in potential to infinity; and he rejects atomism. Atomism had its partisans at this time, the *mutakallimeen* (theologians), with whom Avicenna disputes. In this connection too, he analyses the idea of contact very cleverly.



Avicenna unfortunately hardly managed to rid himself of the errors of peripatetic physics although he had the opportunity several times. Yet from a philosophical point of view his account, besides forming interesting reading, bears witness to a very acute intellect.

He differs from Aristotle on some fundamental issues, notably the nature of the Primal Cause, which he defines as the Necessary Existence, and more importantly, in the mode of deriving the Universe from the Primal Cause. Here he adopts a Neo-Platonist line and expounds the belief in graded creation through emanation. His Neo Platonism is, however, stamped by personal marks and independent thinking, particularly in the the concept of Active Intellect, a heavenly substance which is the source of all knowledge and serves as a bridge between human intellect and the higher order of existence.

*A comparison of Ibn Sina's cosmology with the Aristotelian tradition and the Islamic tradition:*

Since the basic philosophical theme expressed in this section is Ibn Sina's theory of emanation, we shall compare and contrast his views with those alternative views which are significant in terms of this philosophical tradition. His doctrine of emanation is basically his solution to the problem: "How can the ultimate being generate the world or relate to it?" Alternative solutions to this problem with which we shall concern ourselves are the doctrines of co-eternity, represented by Aristotle, and the creation theory, represented by Islam.

Although it may be true that Ibn Sina availed himself of the Aristotelian vocabulary, e.g. matter and form, generation and corruption, actuality and potentiality, as well as the four elements and related topics, many significant differences can be observed between their cosmologies, as will be discernible from the following summary of Aristotle's position and particularly when his position is compared with that of Ibn Sina.

According to Aristotle, the generation of all substances is caused by their having the same form. About coming into being, Aristotle asserts (*Metaphysica* 1070 a):

"We note next that neither the material nor the form of a thing comes into being (when the thing comes into being); and I mean this even of the matter and form closest to things. For everything that changes is something that is changed by something into something. That by which it is changed is its first mover; what is changed is its material; and that into which it is changed is its form..... We note next that all primary beings (both those generated naturally and otherwise) come into being out of something with the same name.

In comparison with this doctrine, Ibn Sina's assertion that a body emanates from an intelligence substance and that matter is therefore, generated out of an intelligence, is anti-Aristotelian position. This difference accentuates a rather



significant distinction in the cosmologies of Aristotle and Ibn Sina. The difference is best depicted in an observation Gilson makes in the context of the contrast he establishes between Aristotle's God and the God of Thomas Aquinas; Gilson holds Aristotle's God to be 'one of the causes and one of the principles of all things, but not the cause for the principle of all things', for he fails to account for matter in the Aristotelian domain of being. As a consequence, Gilson finds it impossible to reduce Aristotle's metaphysics to unqualified unity. In the system of St Thomas, however, God is the cause of everything, even of matter. Hence, the notion of metaphysics itself is modified by the doctrine of creation, for a first cause is introduced into the realm of being and from this cause everything comes into being. W.D. Ross expresses an identical view in his study, *Aristotle's Prior and Posterior Analytics*:

The formal cause is not a distinct cause over and above the final or efficient cause or the eternal ground, but is one of these when considered as forming the definition of the thing in question. The one type of cause that can never be identical with the formal cause is the material, and hence the material cause is silently omitted from the present passage.

According to Aristotle, therefore, the ultimate being cannot even in remote sense be the material cause of an entity, but can only move the material world as its prime mover. By contrast, Ibn Sina's ultimate being is a remote cause of the material aspects of the world on the following grounds. The ultimate being first of all generates an intelligence; the first intelligence in turn generates another intelligence and a body. This generation continues, as has been discussed, until the active intelligence is generated which generates the substratum-matter of the sub-lunary world. In this sense, then we can call Ibn Sina's ultimate being the remote cause of the world, a doctrine which gives to his system a decidedly anti-Aristotelian bias. The two philosophers diverge also on the ultimate being as the perfection of persons and the notion of mystical union. In the Aristotelian system the prime mover is not in any sense regarded as the perfection of persons; any notion of mystical union would be meaningless in his system, whereas mystical union (*paiwand*) is regarded as the source of the ultimate happiness of persons by Ibn Sina. One could ask, however, in what sense the Aristotelian theory can be said to approach a union of the kind Ibn Sina depicts.

In this connection we might recall a famous passage in Aristotle's works in which he asserts that the activity of God is contemplation, and that the best activity in which man can engage himself is also, therefore, contemplation (*Ethica Nicomachea* 1178 b 8-22):

But that perfect happiness is a contemplative activity will appear from the following consideration as well ... Therefore, the activity of God, which surpasses all others in blessedness, must be contemplative; and of human activities, therefore, that which is most akin to this must be more of the nature of happiness.



## ENVIRONMENTAL SCULPTURES ON ISLAMIC THEME

\*Gayoor Hassan

The "quality" of a work of art depends upon the "quality" of the artist who produces it. It is the result of his intelligence, and his sensitivity to things that may stimulate him and his technical competence; these derive in turn from his character, his understanding and his temperament. The particular form that the work of art takes, arises from the direction that his interests lead him to and from his technical sympathy with one method of expression rather than the other. This is true, I think, of all the arts; and the artist becomes a painter or a sculptor because the visible world and the materials of his craft — paint, colour, stone, metal, volume—are the things that move him to express himself in art. It is apparent that not only the talent but dedication also is essential; and if it is fair and accurate to regard the artist's life in this way, it is also fair that the work should have the serious and careful attention of observer.

The artist is a special creative spirit, special in the sense that he is creative and special in the sense that he confines his creativity to a form he adopts. As a specialist he is set apart and as a creative spirit he is, as history reveals, in a small minority. The observer shares in the creative act in that it discharges itself through him, what he experiences is part or all of the transmuted experience of the artist; how much, this will depend on his sensitivity and temperament and on the creative power of the artist.

Although he uses nature, this is not to say that his painting or sculpture must resemble nature<sup>1</sup>. Indeed *abstraction* is a device much used in art. It is therefore, unfortunate that it has been so thoroughly misunderstood; and since it is so much a part of modern painting and sculpture some examination of it is essential. To abstract or to make an abstract has two different senses: to take away or to deduct and to summarise. In relation to modern art it partakes of something of both senses but predominantly of the first. It would probably be helpful to distinguish between the two general uses of the term.

To put it in another way, an abstract art is one in which the shapes are not derived from a particular subject but are put together directly from the artist's stock of experiences and his understanding of the effects of the relationships of shapes and colours. This will have no reference to the appearance of the visible world.

---

\* Principal Institute of Music & Fine Arts, Srinagar.



Abstraction is, however, only the method, not the inspiration. The artists use it only in so far as it helps them realise their intention-to communicate their experience-and not as an end in itself. The extent of the abstraction reflects the artist's attitude to the world, to his society, to the future, to the changing character of man. The modern artist has found varying degrees of abstraction necessary to express his sense of the loss of urgency in academic art and of its lack of relevance to the way we live now, to the modern machine, to modern war, to great events, and perhaps most important, to the feeling that man himself is becoming increasingly depersonalised and is subject to the power of science which he has invented. His art is the result of an attempt, sometimes desperate, usually groping, to find a truth, an order and a faith that will allow him to live in dignity. This necessitates and inspires his new language.

Calligraphy is the highest art form of the Islamic civilisation, no appreciation of Islamic art is possible without understanding the importance and significance of its calligraphic tradition. From the first years of Islam arose the idea of presenting the Koran in a way worthy of the momentous significance of the revelations, using the finest form of handwriting allowed by Kufic (primitive) script to begin with and thus religious emotions and aesthetic sensibility were inseparately fused.

Briefly defined, a three dimensional sculpture consists of a solid object with which we are in a physical relationship—it commands our attention by the mere fact of its presence. In the past sculpture conveyed magical or religious ideas while in modern times these ideas may be purely secular or aesthetic. Sculpture has in its evolution been associated with architecture, ritual and religion, mystic forms and play. Its role cannot be fixed, for it is constantly growing and changing.

Each work of art exists on its own terms, conditioned by its own laws and autonomous within a given frame work or governed by the relationship it enters in to with the environment. Thus forming a cohesive whole where an observer sees, feels and appreciates the pieces of art as an organic whole with its environment. Each work of art exists in terms of its own autonomous laws. This new view presents sculpture only as a three dimensional mass occupying space. We are invited to apprehend it only by our senses which are alive to its volume and shape, colour and texture, its feel and ponderability. We are asked to experience it and judge it in terms of our response to its surface movement, solidity, colour, theme and so on in relationship with its environment.

Contemporary sculpture differs from the work of pervious centuries for many reasons. These include a receding preoccupation with the human body used as a subject to convey ideas, the development of constructivist processes and the use of modern materials and techniques, and changing attitude to artistic achievements.



The twentieth century has seen the emergence of sculptors who have examined images from many other cultures and have served to widen a vocabulary which had been almost exclusively related to, Greek ideas. Auguste Rodin's (1840-1917) work breathed new life into sculpture, and artists such as Constantin Brancusi (1876-1957), Picasso (1881-1973) Naum Gabo (1890-1977) have helped gain new grounds into which sculpture has now extended.

Art is a communication, true, - but art is more than just that. It is also a means of expression, though of a special kind, not to be confused with the meaning that language conveys. I sculpt with these two points in mind, to communicate and to express, through the media of art. One of the most difficult tasks is to reify thoughts and to reveal approaches one has towards a work of art, especially in a way that might be meaningful to some one else also. This is true because much of what transpires in the creative process operates on the subconscious level.

I have worked in close proximity to many 'isms', doctrines and philosophical concepts revolving around my past experiences as a professional artist-teacher during the past twenty five years. My sculptures and paintings, to date, still show an unreceding interest in philosophical and spiritual subjects and motifs<sup>2</sup>.

I call myself a sculptor, painter and teacher to some extent. This may be the reason that my approach to an artistic act is academic. My approach to sculpture is through the many drawings that I explore. Each drawing has its own beginning, its own expression.... an idea which grows and lives with each stroke of pen. The idea or new expression is not born all in one simple movement. It actually lives as my pen moves. Line, planes and shapes develop a new life within itself. The new creation crystallises itself into true and real meaning. My approach is a process of exploring sculptural form by freedom of movement to be captured into a crystallised idea. These ideas and sketches are only mental notes that serve to describe the physical attitude and general design of the subject. Each new idea, waits for its creator to choose a tangible form. The idea or interpretation of the subject in three dimensions is accomplished during actual construction. The idea which best expresses my conception of its meaning is then developed into sculptural form of its own. This is the moment for which each idea waits. Once chosen, it is no longer dormant as its many companions. It will begin to breath, develop and grow into a visual experience, a true sculptural creation. With each blow of the hammer, and with each cut of the chisel, a new life is born. In the creation, I always start by searching for the whole. I confine myself to the simplest line and planes. Detail does not interest me; what matters is the original idea. I want the idea to feel life within itself, and to crystallise into a harmonious whole. Each sculpture with its new life stands ready to speak through its elements to the observer.

I have been fascinated by the art of calligraphy. Basically language was born



in the form of sound, by the evolution of time sound gave birth to an alphabet, which shaped the script and thus calligraphy sprouted.

I pursue the theme which is fundamentally derived from the sound. During the thorough study of calligraphic art, I have found that Arabic calligraphy has rhythmic patterns, with all aesthetic beauty and artistic flexibility with which an artist can create numerous forms of art.

My purpose is not to initiate the calligraphy, but to express and convey something which will be more than the calligraphy itself. It is a vehicle through which the truth manifests and merges with the sound, and creates ecstasy in silence and delight.

It is very common about the works of art to be specially appreciated by those who know the value of art. I think you may agree with one or two relevant observations made in connection with the role of audience and artist responses to the feelings and customs of the community and the value system he belongs to. It is fairly obvious that no artist can work well without the sense of an audience. The theory that art is self-expression will not carry us far; for what is the "self" that is expressed. Art is communication, and though it works by and with the sensibility, there is simply no reason why it should not communicate a sense of value. The answer to the question whether great art can exist independent of religion will therefore depend on our scale of values. The court of judgement is sooner or later, the community. It would seem, therefore, that the artist, to achieve greatness, must in some way appeal to community-feelings. Hitherto the highest form of community-feeling has been religious; it is for those who deny the necessary connection between religion and art to discover some equivalent form of community-feeling which will, in the long run, ensure an historic continuity for the art that is not religious.

I am highly inspired by the Koranic theme, through which I tried to express my inner world by way of creating the sculptures of mystic sound and convey the message of the Truth through the works of art. The concept of my sculptures are essentially Koranic. Therefore, the choice of fourteen cryptic Arabic letters which head certain chapters of the Koran. These mystic words which are the vehicle through which my works travel and are represented in the form of environmental sculptures with the preservation of their own interpretations, are as under:-

*NON, QAF, SAD, ALIFLAM MIM, ALIFLAM RA, ALIFLAM MIM RA,  
ALIFLAM MIM SAD, YA SIN, TA SIN, TA HA, TA SIN MIM,  
HA MIM, AIN SIN QAF, KAF HA YA AIN SAD.*

The environmental sculpture is to be so strong and catchy, that a common



man, who ever casts his glance on it may find some interest in it and appreciate it. I also endeavour that my environmental sculpture may be appreciated by the common people, apart from the serious art lovers, because basic idea of the environmental sculpture is to beautify the environment with aesthetic art object. The definition of environmental sculpture is that there must be a perfect, ideal marriage between the environment and the work of art, yet each must retain its own identity.

The environmental sculpture includes my floating sculpture and fountain sculpture also. Fountain sculpture is, to sum it all, a kind of sculpture in which the water and the material of the sculpture are actually wedded together to enhance the quality and effect of both. The visual effect thus caused is strong, functional and ornamental as well.

The series of these fourteen environmental sculptures is specifically made for general public places, parks, gardens, city squares, lakes (floating sculpture) etc. These sculptures have been conceived for fountains also and accordingly, these can be executed in different materials, like stone, caststone, wood, metal casting, metal-sheets and fibre glass etc. Their enlargement and selection of material are subject to the selection of their given space in the environment. I tried to widen the scope of the subject-matter by way of mixing sculpture and fountain with pedestals and ultimately the whole concept of sculpture and fountain unites together. The purity of water and light plays the vital role along its subject matter, and the original form of sculpture gains appealing height and monumental qualities which enhances aesthetic beauty and conveys the message in magnificent manner and it speaks through its elements to the observer.

#### NOTES AND REFERENCES

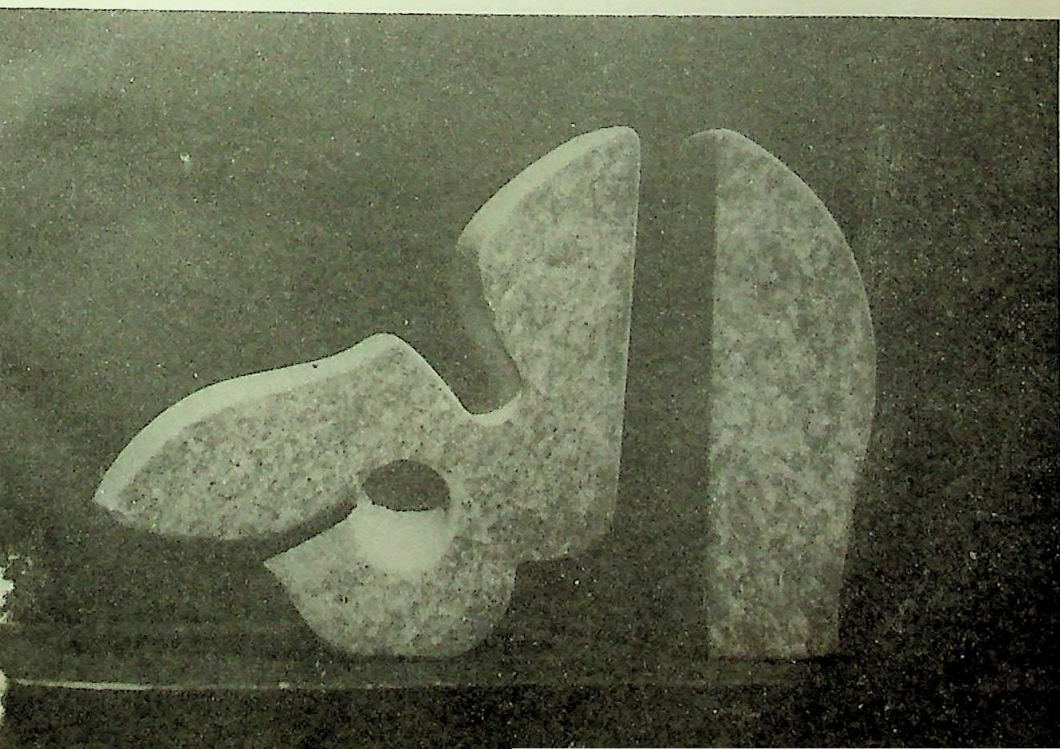
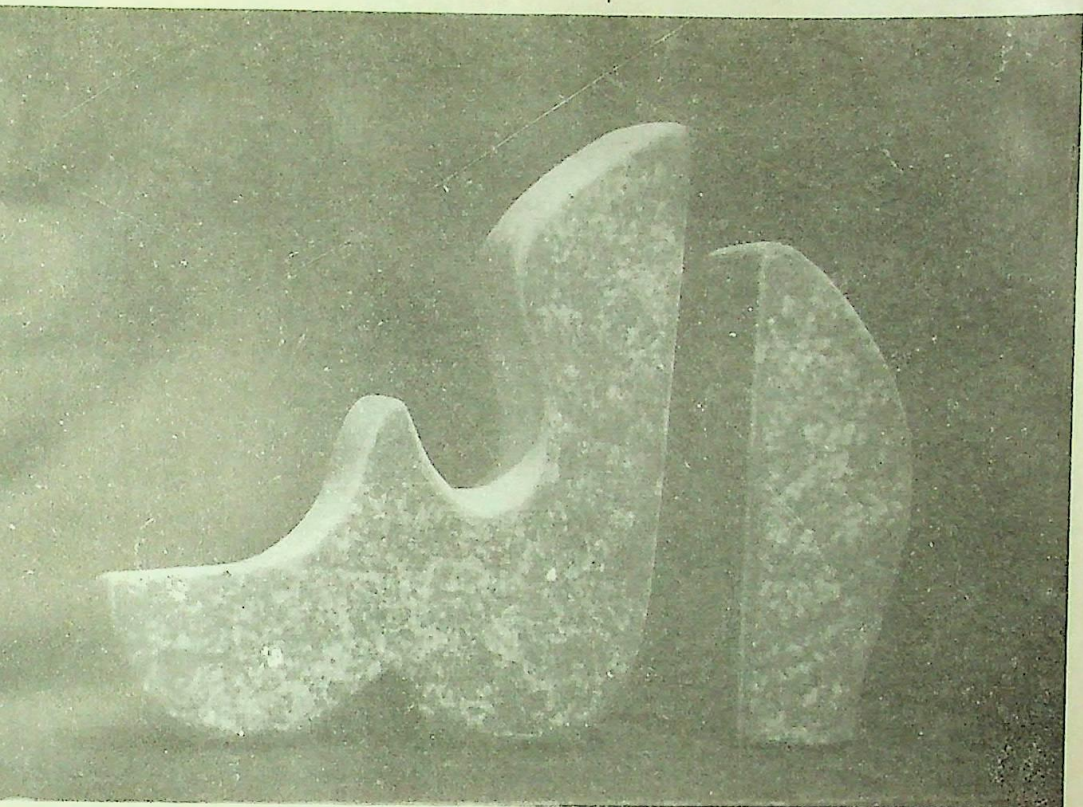
1. The artist is not just a copyist of nature's appearance, he is a part of the fabric of society, an involuntary revelation of its character. He uses nature, the visible world, but his whole purpose is the interpretation of his personal and necessarily limited - understanding.
2. An art critic in the *Monthly Indian Architect*, (January, 1986) writes "Mr. Gayoor Hassan is a class by himself. His art is a projection of spiritual scholarship. He does not hide his having accepted a hero. Historically a Guru has been a condition of the great among artists. His anatomical excellence is captivating as are his colours. His works announce in impressive terms that there is no shortcut to great art. Inspiration has to be interpreted with perspiration. When conceiving a work he gives the impression of having been seated on a mountain peak sunk in ecstasy and contemplation". At another place "*Indian Architect*" (February, 1973), he states "Gayoor Hassan's carving is not an ordinary attribute of Kashmir crafts. The artist in addition has worked with such celebrated artists as Prof. Sankhu Choudhuri, if he did not produce the class of sculpture he has, one would be surprised. There is a strong point in his sculptures not associated with modern sculptor, even celebrated ones these days. They do not show their artistic powers via chiselling on the stone or carving on wood, but lay store in casting Mr. Hassan makes proud and shows in clear terms how he uses his tools. His sculptures are complete compositions for their shapes if their scale could be enlarged, they would suit street squares. He has a knack of carving."



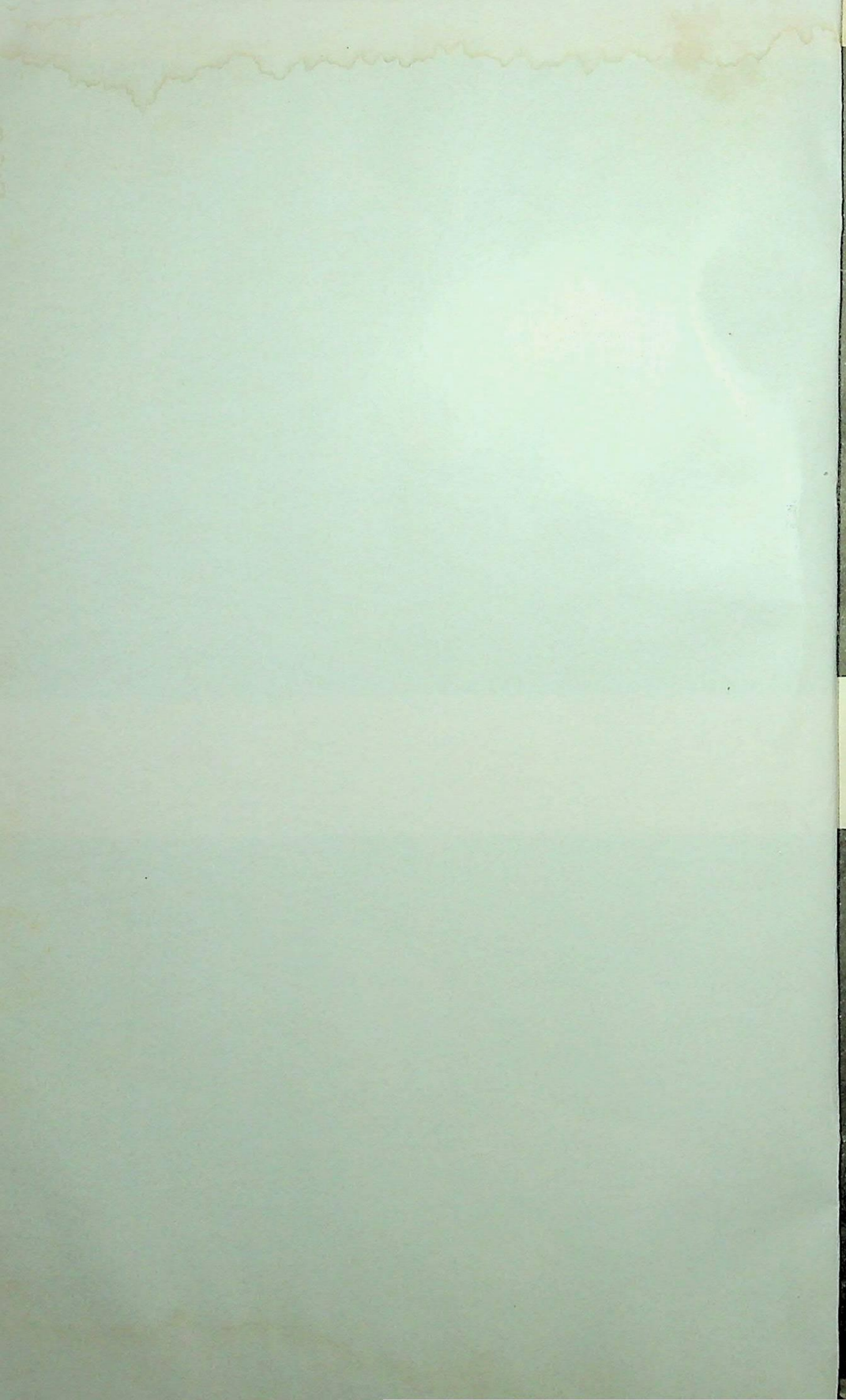
In "*The Times of India*" September 18, 1989, Mr. Keshav Malik an eminent art critic of India states " I would like to mention Gayoor Hassan, the head of the sculpture department of the Institute of Music and Fine Arts Srinagar Kashmir. In his Koranic calligraphic sculpture, the artist excels himself and slips out completely from under sundry influences. Some of this smaller paintings and thin metal sculpture models for environmental sculptures indicate that he is not only working earnestly but is likely to achieve something memorable."

I suppose there is a great sense of truth and validity in their statements. I pursue the theme with numerous drawings.

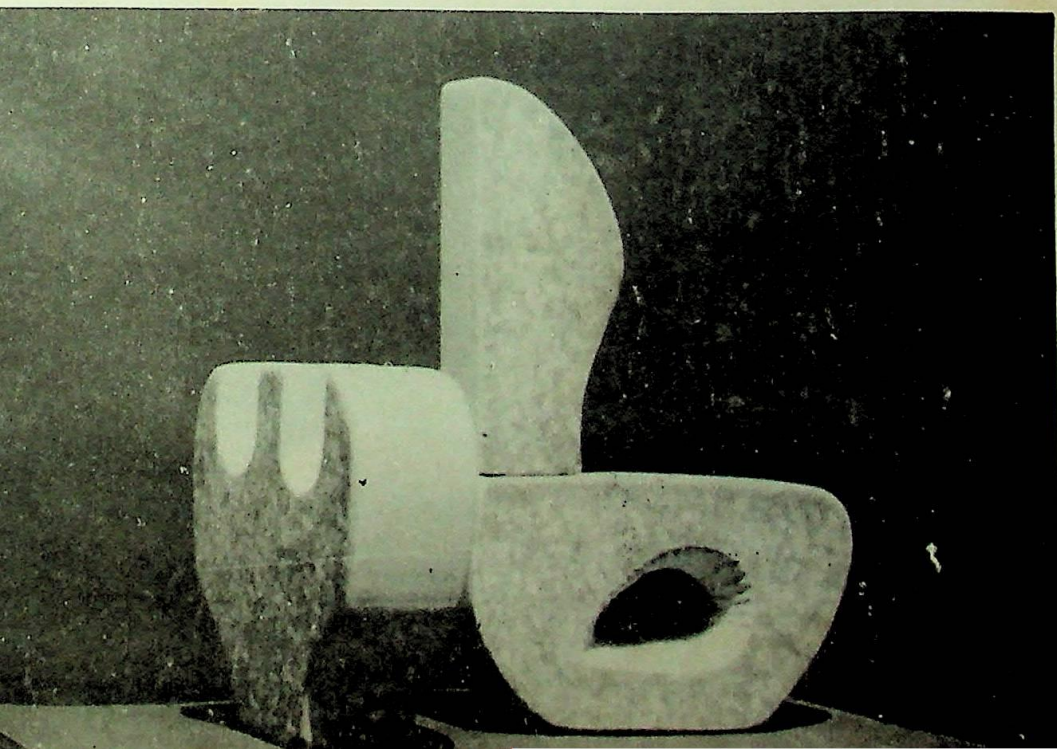
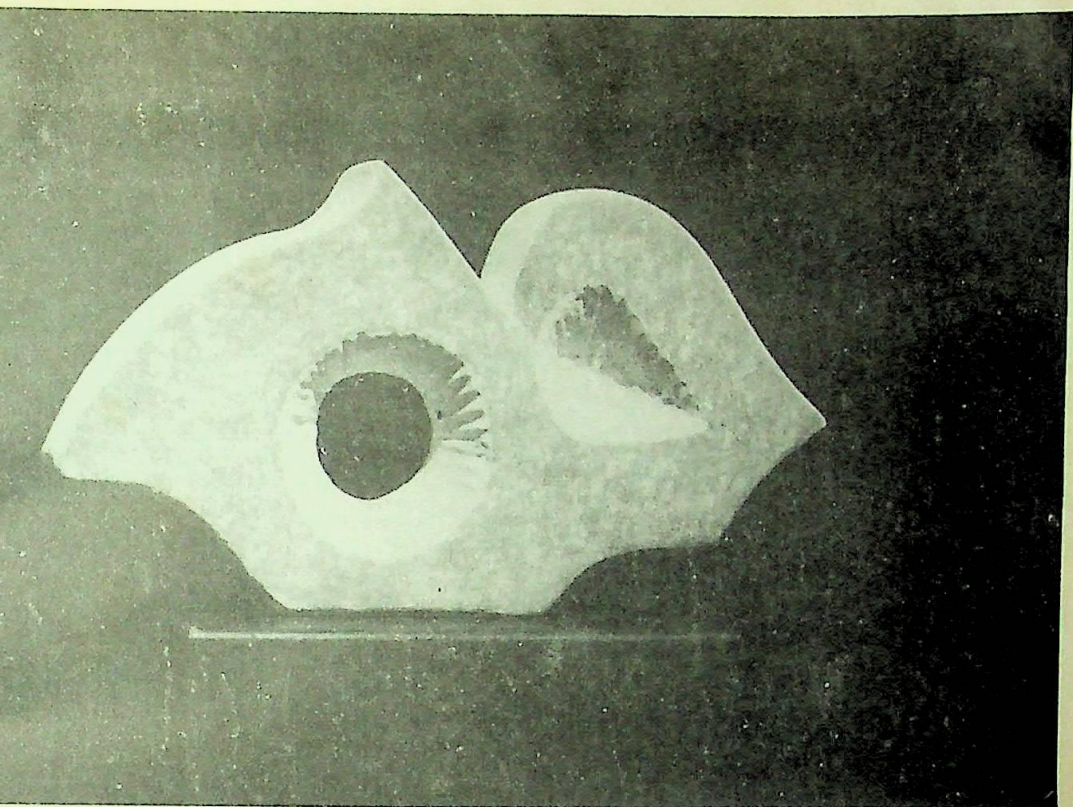




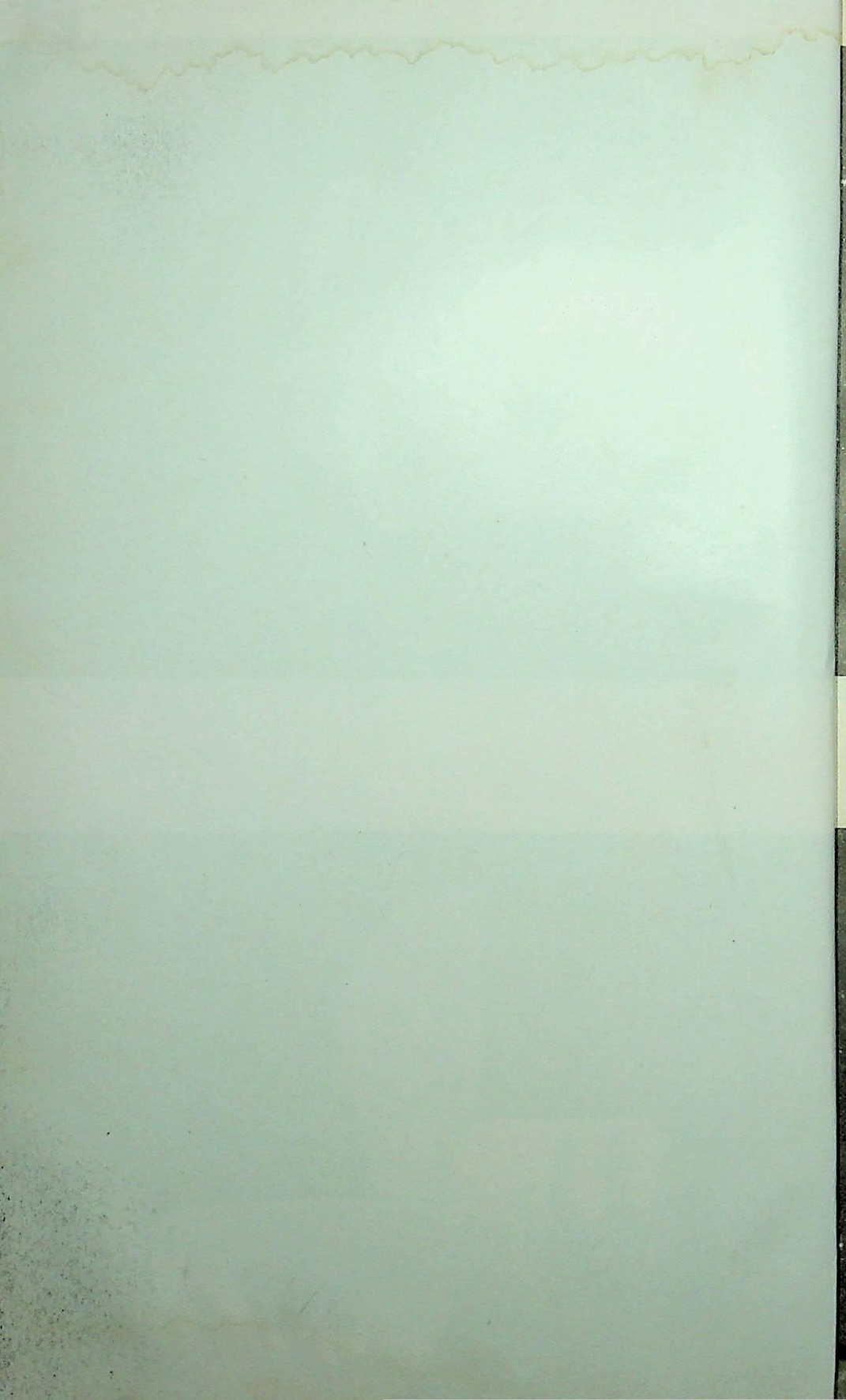




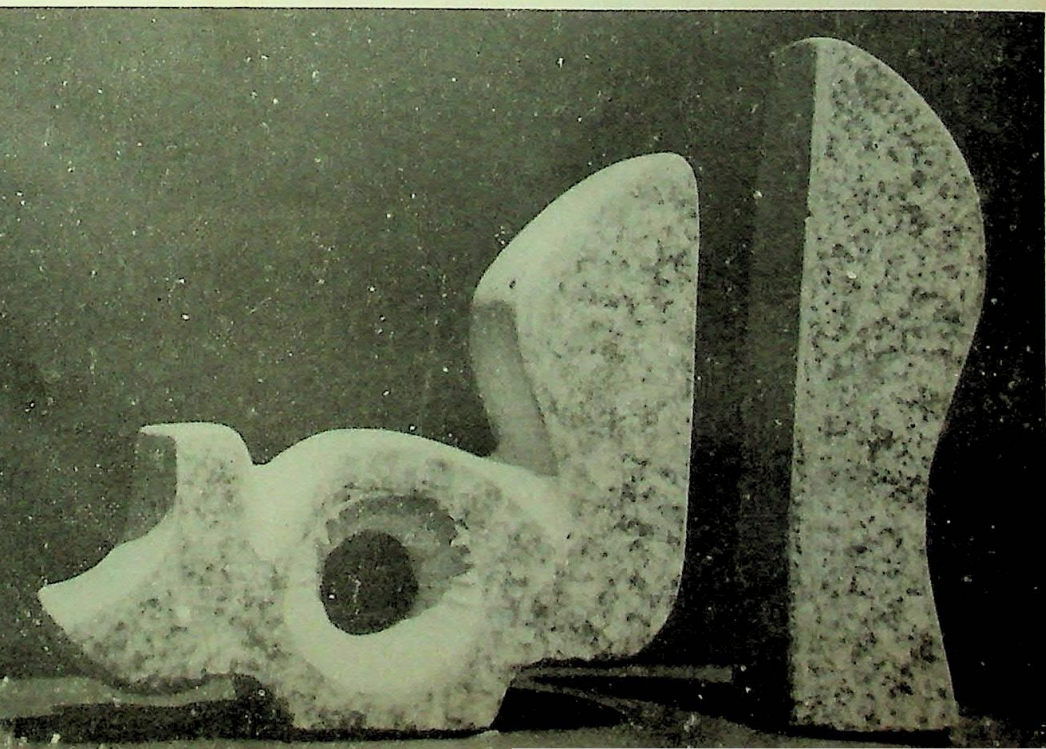
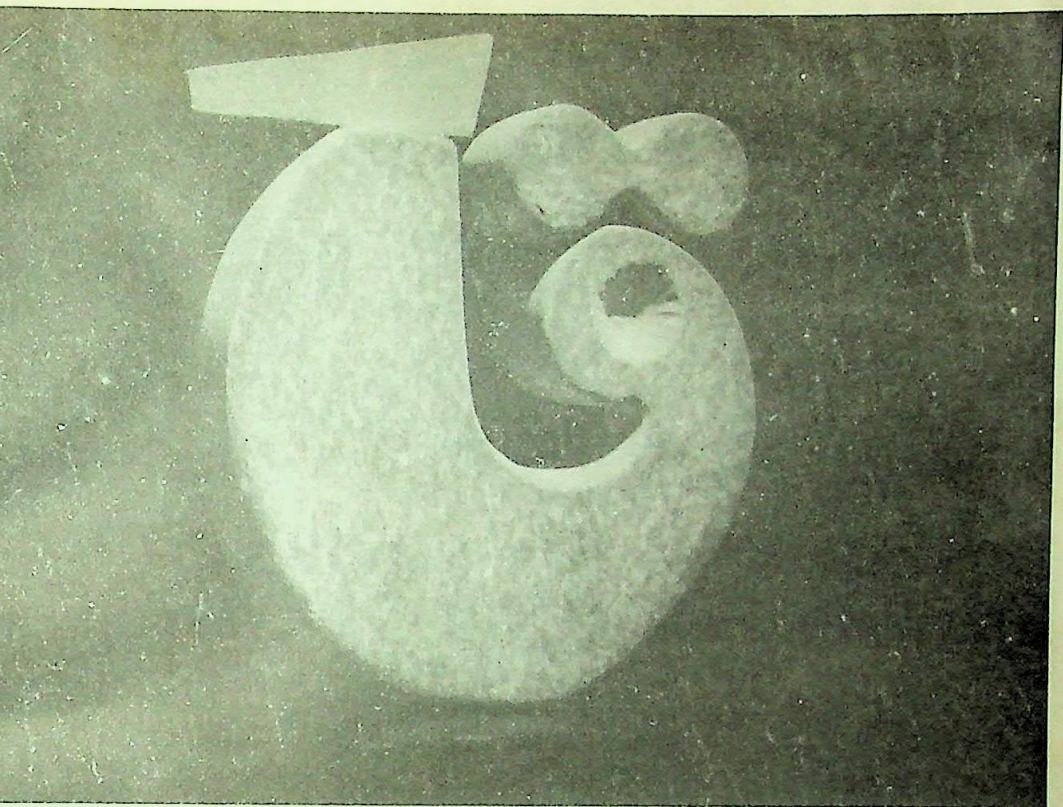




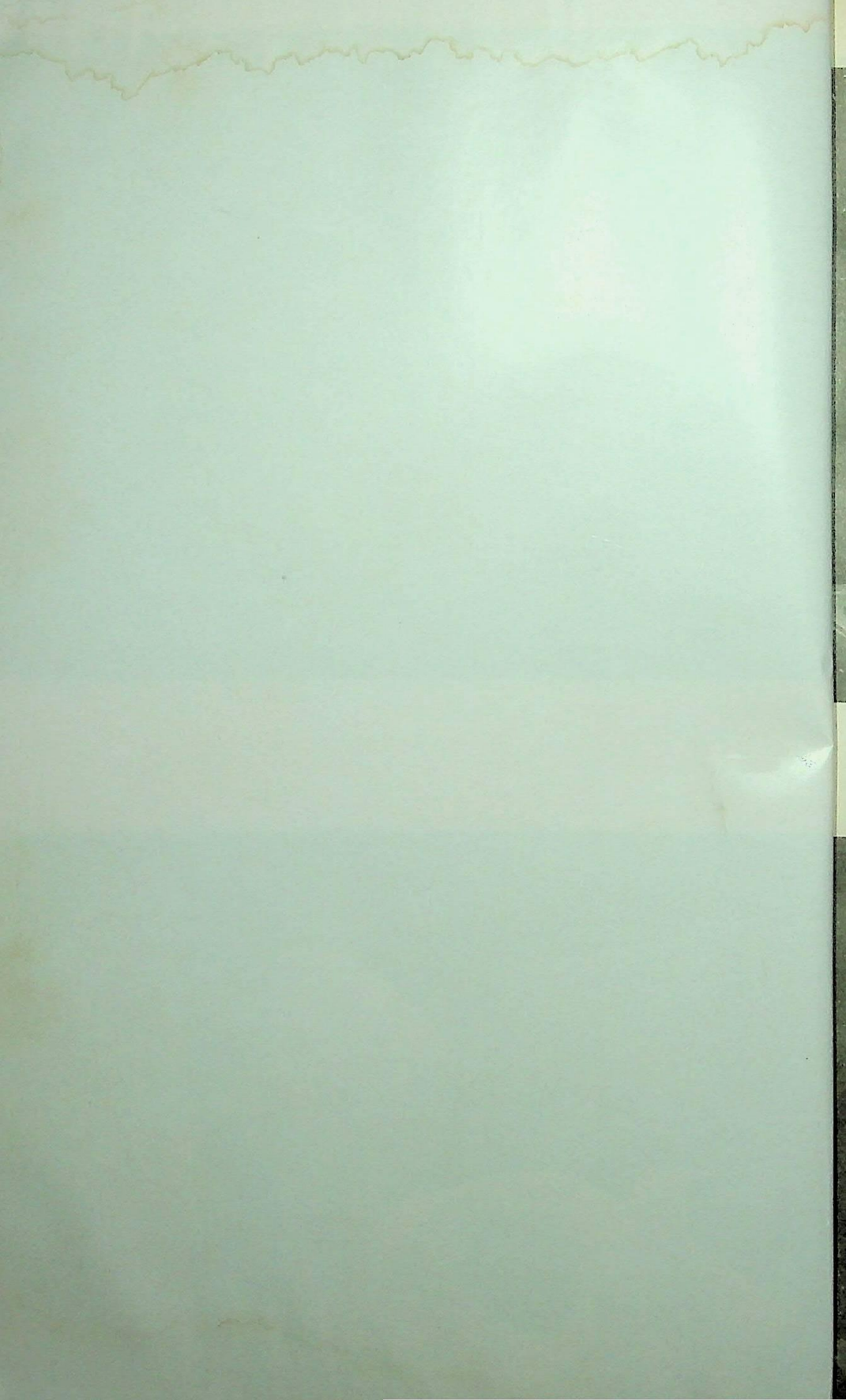




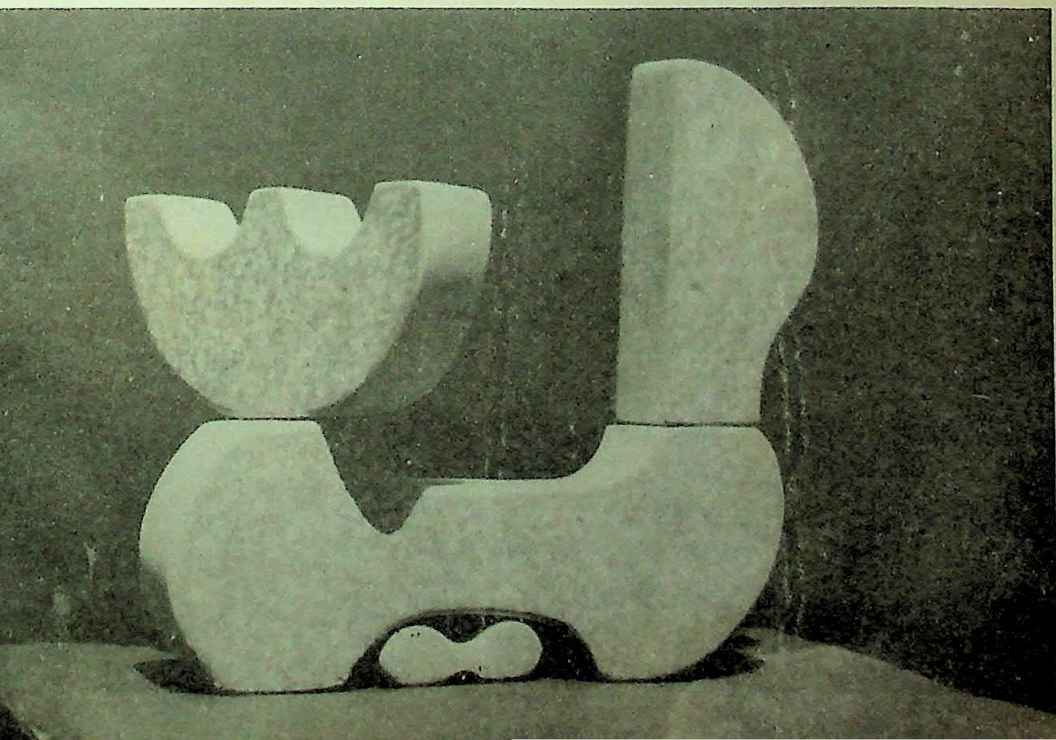
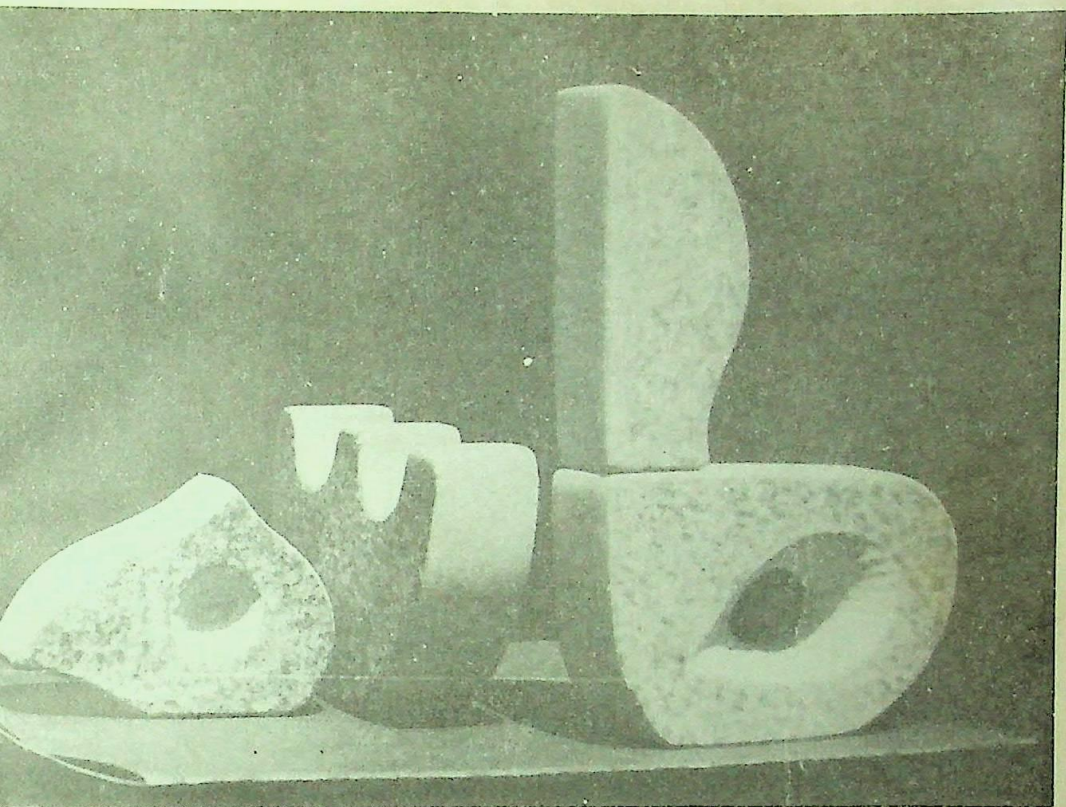




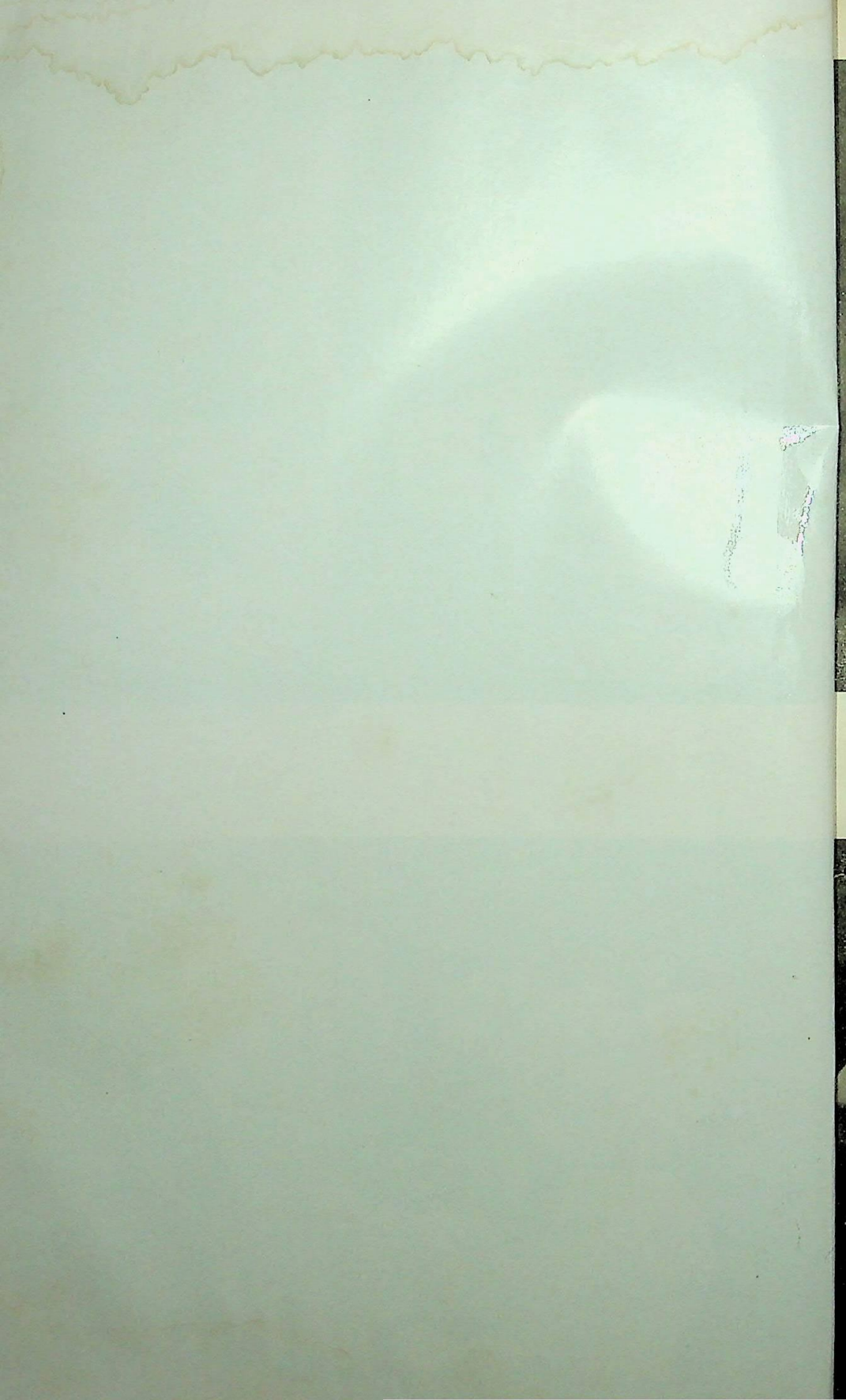




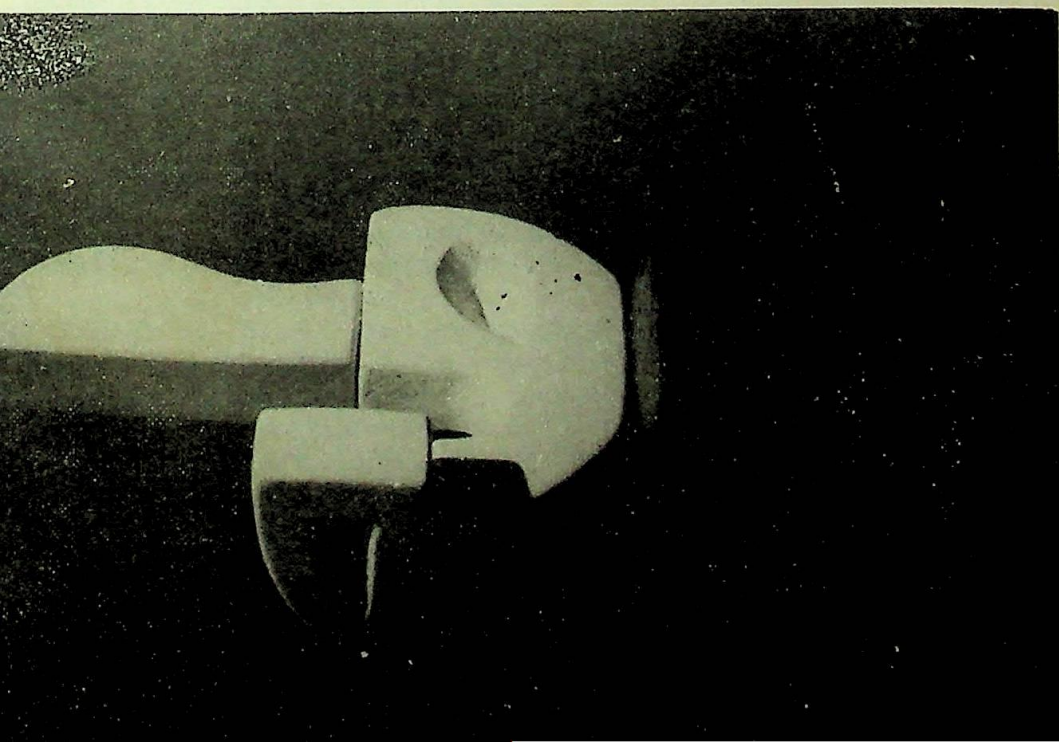
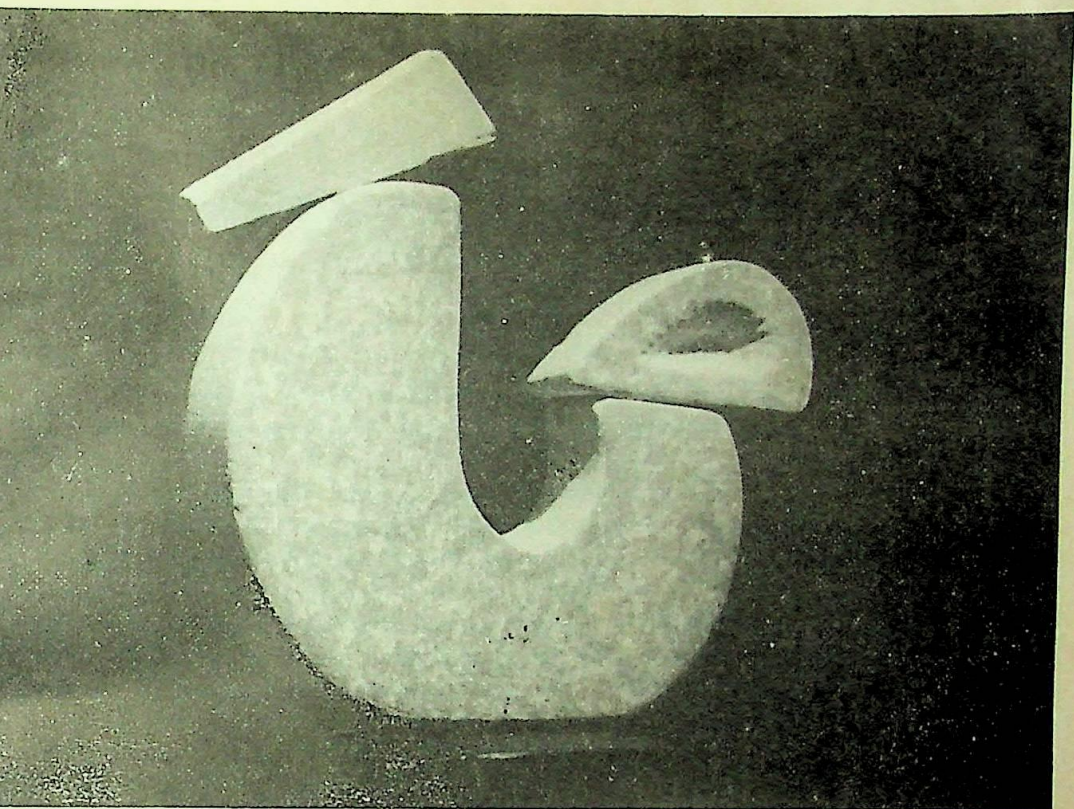




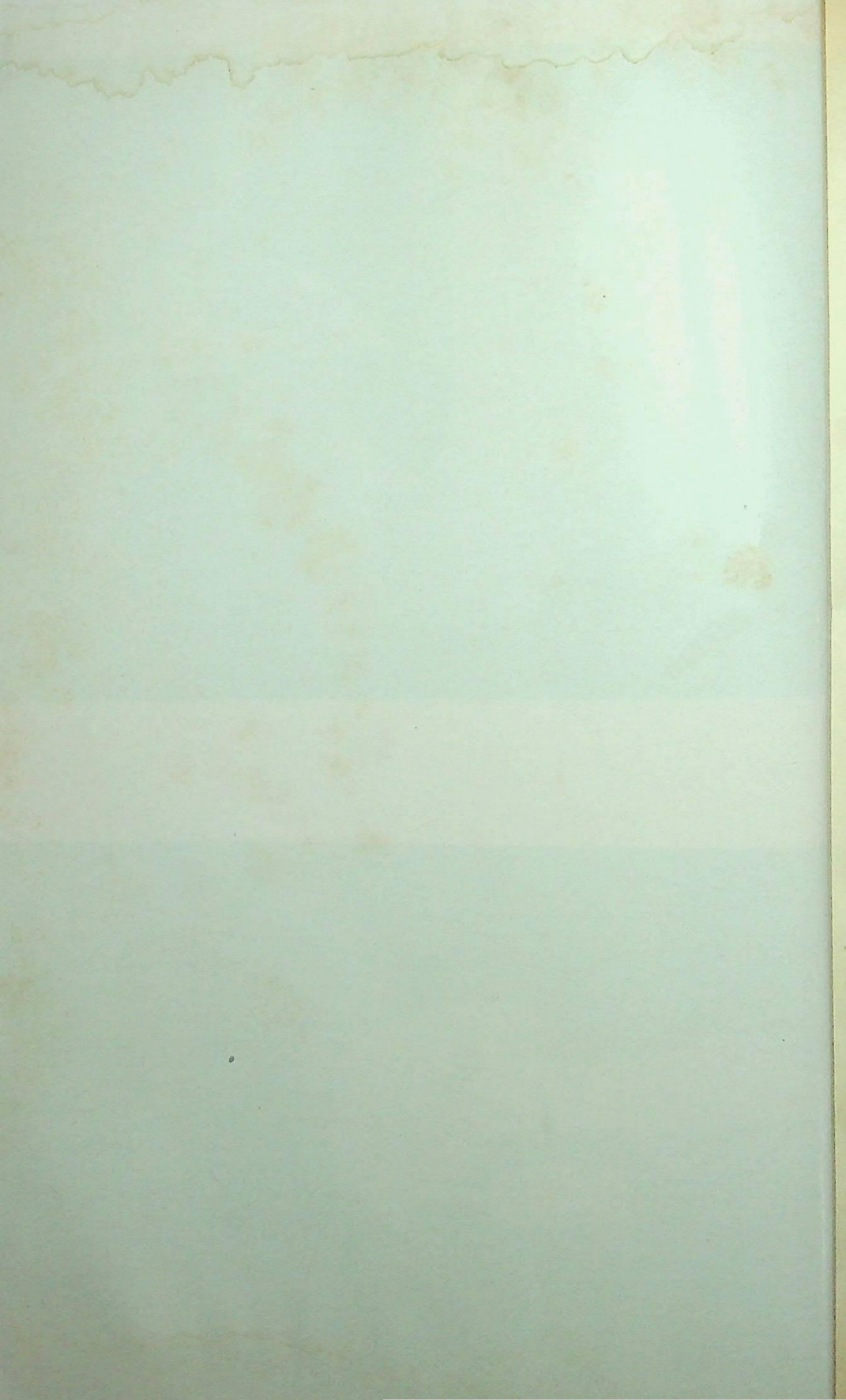














# A PARTHLAN<sup>1</sup> INSCRIPTION AT SUSAS<sup>2</sup>

## A Critical Analysis

\* *Gulshan Majeed*

*(I acknowledge my indebtedness to Franz Cumont and Dr. Jamshid Manekji Unvala (tr) for the material I have freely used in this paper).*

The letter under study belongs to the Parthian<sup>3</sup> King of King's<sup>4</sup> Artavan III<sup>5</sup> who ruled Western Iran<sup>6</sup>, its vassal states like Elamais and the district/state Susiana<sup>8</sup> (which was hitherto autonomous and only indirectly under the Parthian suzerainty). The letter inscribed on a rectangular block of lime stone 16 cms thick in very fine Greek characters whose type varies from four to seven mm<sup>9</sup> is a sort of royal decree<sup>10</sup> issued in favour of one Hestiaios Asios whose father<sup>11</sup> Demetrios alias Eisagogous erected this memorial stone in conformity with the practice of the ancients to remember the noble souls and honour the men of distinction<sup>12</sup>.

The inscription buried under a Sassanian edifice<sup>13</sup> which had used the building material and the foundations of the earlier constructions of the Achaemenian ruler Darius (522-486)<sup>14</sup> was unearthed during a series of excavations at a place sited earlier by Mr. Loftus in 1852 and carried initially in 1886<sup>15</sup> by Mr. Dieulafoy and subsequently conducted by R. de Macquenem, Director Archaeological mission of Susiana in 1927<sup>16</sup>.

The inscription at hand furnishes one of those missing links the absence of which frustrates our attempts to reconstruct the Parthian history and locate its place in the general cultural scenario of ancient Iran. The Parthian history as given to us is still incoherent and broken at essential nodal points<sup>17</sup>. The inscription is very significant tool in our endeavours to establish their political and administrative setups culture and language and central state relations in a particular region (Susa) and of particular period (1st century period<sup>18</sup>).

Parthian rule (248 B.C-226 A.D) in general was a decentralised system<sup>19</sup> of *Kadag Xwadayan*<sup>20</sup> lord of houses. The various high ranking posts were normally hereditary<sup>21</sup>. This practice vested in the hands of nobility<sup>22</sup> a power often detrimental to a less vigilant monarch<sup>23</sup>. The period is a witness to exploits and manoeuvring capabilities of the nobility who could effect changes at the highest place without creating many ripples around<sup>24</sup>. Through the old practices,

---

\* Reader, Centre of Central Asian Studies, University of Kashmir, Srinagar.



borrowed from Achaemenian rulers there emerged three forms of governance during this parthian rule which had far reaching consequences for the development of a composite culture<sup>25</sup>:

- (a) Provinces run directly by the monarch<sup>26</sup>
- (bi) Provinces run by a Satrapes<sup>27</sup> and Strategos<sup>28</sup> Satrap was the highest judicial authority within the province<sup>29</sup>.
- (bii) Autonomous or semi autonomous city states<sup>30</sup> run by the elected representatives<sup>31</sup> of people on the Greek model<sup>32</sup>. Cities like Dura Europos, Seleucia and Susa<sup>33</sup> which had elected bodies to manage the administrative<sup>34</sup> and the political affairs of local nature. Under Parthian rule they were free to choose their own revenue raising system<sup>35</sup> so long as they could defray the expenses of royal house and were responsible to the monarch through the epistates<sup>36</sup>, the commissioner appointed by the monarch for guidance and look after of the municipal administration (of Susa).
- c) Vassal States<sup>37</sup>: Conquered or achieved through the negotiations with an subdued ruler as a ransom and leased out on a contractual obligation to the existing ruler of the state or to a person nominated by the King from amongst his own trustees<sup>38</sup>. These states were conditionally sovereign and were forbidden to raise the strength of their army beyond a fixed ceiling. Parthian states had only a nominal army<sup>39</sup>; at the time of an emergency people were intimidated to join the army.

This way of governance helped to create an atmosphere where people reacted favourably to the changes around<sup>40</sup>. As there was no strain on local cultures and regional languages, they developed in a way most suited to the requirements of the people they belonged to<sup>41</sup>. It is natural with the developing cultures and more so if they are more passive or less dominant, that they always keep their borrowing options open<sup>42</sup>. The foreign cultural elements practices and religious symbols were readily adopted and juxtaposed<sup>43</sup> with other local elements. In certain cases the suitable and relevant equivalences<sup>44</sup> were also found. It was under such circumstances that the Greek language developed as a *lingua franca*<sup>45</sup> of the empire. Under all these currents the pahlavi<sup>46</sup> was being chiselled by the people concerned and silently developing to take off as the major language of the empire. Pahlavi script finally making its appearance just on the coins of vologesis<sup>47</sup> I in 52-58 A.D, only fifteen years after the reign of Artaban III. Other language used in writing was Aramaic; inscription found at Nisa and Avroman<sup>48</sup> etc., are in this language. Ideographic pahlavi script evolved from this Aramaic script.



The inscription displays two eras side by side a practice also followed during Parthian rule<sup>49</sup> the date of receipt of the letter is given prominently at the head of the inscription as: Received in the year 268 as per the Royal Era<sup>50</sup>, in 333 as per the Ancient Era<sup>51</sup>. Royal Era 268<sup>52</sup> here means the Arsacid Era<sup>53</sup> which started in the manner of Seleucid Era from a fixed year and begins from the spring of 248/247 BC<sup>54</sup> when their presumed ancestor Arshak occupied the parthian throne. The Ancient Era here means seleucid Era<sup>55</sup> beginning with Autumn 312 BC. The two calendars supplemented each other; in the eastern parts of the country only Arsacid calendar was in vogue. The Royal Era has been given preference over the ancient Era. But one feels surprised by the fact that the Royal Era has not been mentioned at all in the main body of the letter, except of course at the end where the emperor seems to have put his royal seal<sup>56</sup>: And again at the end of the main letter where the erector gives his name, the date of establishing the statue is given in the seleucid Era only.

Frequency of the Seleucid Era in the main letter speaks not simply of the popularity of this era in this particular part of the Empire but very rightly of the other political considerations of the ruler. The persian rulers were generally tolerant and considerate. We have strong historical evidences to prove their accommodative<sup>57</sup> nature vis-a-vis alien cultures and the subjects. The Addressee of the letter are the Strategos and the Satrape of the Susa and the city of Susa<sup>58</sup> itself, all of them Greek and believably using a Seleucide Calender<sup>59</sup>. The nature of the letter also required that it should be understood well by all the parties involved. Seleucid Era which governed the transactions in the Greek cities of the period was followed on the Parthian coins also. Royal documents were signed in Arsacid Era; the practice followed in the present inscription when the emperor mentions in the signiture line the Arsacid Era only.

“ The 17th day of Audnaios<sup>60</sup> 268”

The letter betrays an dominant trait in the character of Artavan III<sup>61</sup>; In response to a petition challenging the election of Hestiaios Asios for the post of a *Gazophylax*<sup>62</sup> on the grounds of overstepping an established norm, the king of king's issues a decree penegyrizing the defendant and eulogising his deeds; and making no secret of his personal liking towards him. A *reply ad rem*. True to his character he least cares for the conventionally established requirement for a valid election and admonishes the boule and the men responsible for bringing in the charge against a friend of the emperor. He calls Hestiaios his most personal Friend, *Protoi Philoi*<sup>63</sup>. The friend and a bodyguard are two terms of great significance in ancient persian context. The Parthians adopted money institutions of their predecessors, a few of which had lost their actual function and were only symbolic in nature. The house of King and the friend of the King were two such institutions who presented themselves are their nominees for various



positions when required and besides had a advisory role. Bodyguards had assumed by dint of their proximity to the King an enviable position. Chief of the bodyguards was even appointed Prime Minister at times. Friends of the King and the bodyguard of the King were the class of the people who had trust and patronage of the King. This institution had lost much of its weight and function and were more or less symbolic during this rule.

In this case a three years break between the two consecutive terms of office was ignored by the authorities responsible for conducting the election for the boule at Susa. The most significant part of the argument lies in the narration of events leading to the decision of the boule to let Hestaios Asios contest the election and in his final victory. King had only two options before him which were either to set aside the majority decision of the boule or ignore the rule which was local in nature and alien to Parthian ruler. He settled for the second and with a purpose behind. Local rule is a local rule insignificant and negligible in comparison to the King's decision whose immediate predecessors and successors are known to have proclaimed themselves thio pator. Then the authority behind the local rule was some abstract principle; the local guardians of the local rule deserting it mid way for the present and deciding to exert their weight in favour of Hestaios Asios. Here emerges one more dimension of the case. Establishment versus local rule whose opponents were Petasos and Aristomenes. Establishment comprised barnos and other nominees of the King. A decision against them could have created a new front against the King and send wrong signals to the quarters hostile to him. Thus the King gives credence to the establishment which serves him more than the law.

The King of King's does not reject the petition brought forward by the two other contenders for the post. Petasos, son of Antiochos, who was elected archontes<sup>65</sup> with Aristomenes son of Philippe, arbitrarily as is alleged by a scholar no less than Franz Cumont<sup>66</sup>. Artavan is at the most guilty of giving no cognisance to an established practice. He tries to convince the respondents by the arguments and lays bare before the petitioners all the meritorious deeds of the defendant and makes them recapitulate the services he had rendered so selflessly for his country. Artavan III visibly lays stress on the good deeds<sup>67</sup> of a man than on a customary practice or a convention. The point which Artavan wished to bring home is best understood by those who are in know of the Zoroastrian concept of a good state<sup>68</sup>. The Zoroastrian concept of a good state differs from the corresponding Greek concept in principle<sup>69</sup>. It suffices here to say that while Greek idea is that of an equal law Zoroastrian concept revolves round the good law. This concept of good law is pragmatic in nature and is result oriented. It takes care of the system which is meant to produce favourable results. The ordinance of good regulation of Darius (522-486BC) on the Naqsh Rostum<sup>70</sup> has the same principle behind it and it was "primarily instrumental in holding together the



numerous racial and territorial groups of farflung empire<sup>71</sup>". The concept of equality before the law was hardly practised in ancient Iran. The king was the epitome of law; law unto himself; allegiance to him was the allegiance to his interests. The decision of Artavan III is conditioned by this allegiance to him from Hestaios Asios and requires from others the same over and above their customary law.

"Received<sup>72</sup> in the year 268 according to the Royal Era, in the year 333 according to ancient era.

"Bacillus Bacillon<sup>73</sup> Arsakaa sends his greetings to Antiochos and Phraates<sup>74</sup>, residing at Susa, to the magistrates and to the City;

"Considering that Hestaios, of Asios, son of Demetrios, who is one of your citizens, and one of the first and the most esteemed friends and one of the body-guards, having exercised the charge of gazophylax<sup>75</sup> in the year 329 according to the ancient reckoning, and having behaved himself in this function correctly, and very justly, and with thorough integrity, not avoiding any personal expense in the expenditure incurred for the City;

"That twice during his magistrature the city having the necessity of sending an ambassador, he absented himself from the City, considering as of no consequence the care of his own affairs and esteeming those of the city more important and considering that, saving neither pains nor money he devoted himself without reserve to the first and to the second embassies, and having negotiated to the advantage of his native City he obtained appropriate honours, as the decree voted in his favour in the year 330 attests<sup>76</sup>;

"That in the year 331 when there was need of an honest men, he was proposed as candidate for the same office for the year 332, and that after a prolonged docimacie Petasos son of Antiochos, who was elected archontes with Aristomenes, son of Philippe, presenting himself in the boule alleged that in virtue of the established laws, it was prohibited that he should occupy the same magistrature twice without leaving an interval of three years;

"But that the City having had the experience of his good intentions and remembering his administration of the above-mentioned office, decided to elect him as archontes and that in consequence he was elected for the year 332, which was of Petasos, son of Antiochos, and of Aristomenes, son of Philippe;



"Considering therefore that, in view of the facts cited above Hestiaios is unjustly accused, we judge that his election is valid, and that he should neither be wrongly prosecuted for occupying the same office without allowing an interval of three years, nor in virtue of any ordinance whatsoever, which might be produced in this matter, all interdiction or inquest having been, in general, set aside, particularly that which was launched against him should be abrogated.

"The 17th day of Audnaios<sup>77</sup> 268.

"This statue<sup>78</sup> of Hostiaios Asios, son of Demetrios, alias Eisagogeus, is erected by his father in the year 337 according to the ancient reckoning.

"Lenidas<sup>79</sup>, son of Artemon of Seleucie on the Eulaios<sup>80</sup> has engraved this stone<sup>81</sup>."

The King of Kings<sup>82</sup> the Arsakai<sup>83</sup> of the inscription is identified with the Arsacid<sup>84</sup> XVIII of the Parthian coins<sup>85</sup> where the reverse shows two handled cups<sup>86</sup> to the left. The depiction of the cups on the coins has a religious significance when studied along with the name of the King — Artavan<sup>87</sup>. Artavan is the possessive form<sup>88</sup> of arta whose latter equivalent is asa<sup>89</sup>. Asa means the right order or the true regulation<sup>90</sup>. Artavan is the compound name comprising Arta+van<sup>91</sup> meaning thereby, the worshipper of Arta<sup>92</sup>. The term denotes the quality of the dead<sup>94</sup>. A man can achieve this state of Artavan hood only when he is dead. Abode of the Arta being the netherworld<sup>95</sup>. And when the man is dead he needs, according to the ancient Iranian belief *mobilier funéraire*<sup>96</sup>—a few useful objects which include vases, bowls and the cups, on its way to other world. Hence the presence of two cups on the coins of Artavan III. The name and its association with the cups betrays a strong Zoroastrian influence on the King.

Parthian rule in general is known for its lack of interest in Zoroastrianism<sup>97</sup>. But the absence of sources and paucity of relevant material at our disposal does not necessarily portray the religious indifference of the Parthians. Zoroastrianism never ceased to be living religion<sup>98</sup>. The artifacts, inscriptions and remains of monuments belonging to different epochs of ancient Iranian history excavated at Susa if read alongside the corresponding objects from other parts of the ancient Iran reveal a culture not altogether devoid of Zoroastrian leanings. Consecration of slaves to Nannia at Susa as per the two inscriptions dated 175 B.C. and 142 B.C. respectively have an obvious correspondence with Artemis with walled radiate crown as is the opinion of W. tarn (1951) and both could well be identified with another Zoroastrian goddess Anahita (or Anahid) and then "no deity was worshipped according to Greek rites or in a Greek style temple". Nania



was already identified with Anahita<sup>99</sup>. The social customs and religious rites were governed by the Zoroastrian beliefs and performed under the guidance of religious teachers— the Magi<sup>100</sup>. Philhellenism<sup>101</sup> was not a general Parthian attitude. It was mainly confined to Greek cities under the Parthian rule. The rulers who are called the imitators par excellence adopted Greek practices<sup>102</sup> only selectively.

Artavan III initially a candidate of compromise between the warring groups was chosen to replace Vonones<sup>103</sup> around 9/10 A.D to occupy Parthian throne. Earlier Vonones had with his lack of administrative skills<sup>104</sup> alienated the parthians in general and the nobility who were instrumental in bringing him to power from virtual wilderness (in 7A.D.)<sup>105</sup>, in particular. Replacement of Vonones with Artavan III is significant in more than one way: it speaks of the growing impatience of people with the things foreign and a general abhorrence to the unwanted Roman interference<sup>106</sup>; it also alludes to the absence of a strong Central rule which puts in the hands of the barons a disproportionate power to choose a king of their choice and at their bidding<sup>107</sup>.

Vonones had spent better part of his life as a hostage in Rome<sup>108</sup>. Back home he could not adjust himself with the parthian way of life and failed to exhibit the characteristics so essential for a Parthian ruler<sup>109</sup>. The behaviour of the nobility with the Vonones is not in any way a meak or lone indicator of strong and dominant nationalistic tendency of the Parthians.

Nobility, a politically motivated alliance was in search of a king who could adjust his steps on the tunes set by them. But their hopes were soon belied when Artavan III started accumulating the power in his person and began to exercise his sovereign will in the matters of the state<sup>110</sup>. The early unrest and the voices of dissent were effectively, though not permanently attended to and channelised in a way as to be beneficial to the forward policy designs of the sovereign.

Artavan III was too strong a King, as the inscription under study and a fragmentary reference in the classical literature shows, to let his nobles manipulate things to their advantage<sup>111</sup>. Authority of the central rule which had got eroded through the weakness of the successive governments was more or less restored<sup>112</sup>. Thus ushered in a period of "expansion of Parthian culture and opposition to all things foreign.

Artavan could hardly recognise a hostile neighbour or an authority which in any way put limits to his field of control. The only authority around was the King and the King ought to be obeyed over and above other considerations irrespective of their legal, social or religious sanctions. The present letter, the only Arsacid Royal document<sup>113</sup> available with the scholars lays stress on this very



aspect of his rule. Hestiaios Asios is his man. A *protoi philoi*. The King knows him as his most trustworthy bodyguard. He has already served his city as its ambassador. King himself attests his selfless services to the state, his uprightness and more importantly his usefulness in the times of crisis. In the state of a 'good law' these are the qualities mostly required. Monarchies were not run on the given lines. They were generally governed by the whims, requirements, external and internal compulsions and interests of the monarch whosoever he may be. Complete allegiance to the Crown and stability of the empire was necessary prerogative and not the soft mention of the law<sup>14</sup>.

Artavan defends his friend and does not like others chargesheet him on any pretext whatsoever. He forbids the petitioners and their supporters and the boule in no less strong words from any action which shall harm or injure the prestige or position of his friend Hestiaios Asios<sup>15</sup>. He little recognises the local rule. From the contents of the letter it looks as if the King of Kings had not only the petition of prosecution before him but the counter affidavit of the defendant as well. He constructs his arguments in favour of his friend and the words chosen betray pronounced partiality which he least tries to hide.

Then the King has done what has already been carried through by the *boule*. The King takes time out to mention with an emphasis the role of municipality in the present case.

Events unfold in the following sequence

- |                |   |
|----------------|---|
| In 329 A.sel:  | Hestiaios is elected to the office of treasurer   |
| In 330 A.sel:  | Decree voted in his favour obtains appropriate honours.   |
| In 331 A.sel:  | a) He is again proposed as the candidate for the same office  |
|                | b) Boule after taking its time on the petition decides against the petitioners  |
| In 332 A.sel : | a) Hestiaios Asios is elected to the office of treasurer  |
|                | b) The petitioners not content with the decision of the boule present their case before the Commissioner appointed by the King                |
|                | c) The commissioner (the epistates) lays the case of both the parties before the King at Ctasephon  |
| In 333 A.sel : | The King of Kings upholds the decision of the boule and rejects the plea of the petitioners and conveys his decision to the parties concerned |

When Hestiaios Asios is proposed for the office of archontes his candidature is contested by Petasos and Aristomenes quoting a rule which governs the norms for the candidature and the valid election to a office in the boule. The rule states



that no person can occupy the same magistrature twice without an interval of three years in between. Hestiaios has visibly failed to observe this rule and so has boule, which decides to elect him in clear violation of the law; against the decision a representation is made well in time and understandingly after making the preliminary enquiries. The inscription is clear at this point. The role of the boule in the present case is not above suspicion. Our immediate impression is that, that there is more between the lines than meets the eye. The boule has acted under compulsions; one of the compulsions is alluded to in the inscription itself where the King tells us that when there was a need of an honest man boule decided to choose Hestiaios Asios. But the words chosen to make the Susian public to fall in line with the decision of the boule are not illuminative enough to dispell the shadows of doubt from their minds. Why only Hestiaios? Is he the only honest man in the whole city state available for the purpose and that too in contravention to the given law. The boule is surely under compulsion, the two other considerations which seem to have effected decision formidably besides the given one i.e the consideration of the welfare of the state, *pro bono publico* are;

- a) Political consideration<sup>116</sup> which converge in the allegiance to the person of the King who is favourably disposed towards Hestiaios or which have their source in the internecine feuds among the power brokers within the boule.
- b) The personal considerations of some immediate gains from Hestiaios Asios<sup>117</sup> who belongs to a class recognised as friends of the King.

Petasos and Aristomenes may have had these considerations of the boule in the mind when they went to contest the decision of the boule. The picture of Hestiaios Asios which emerges through the arguments of the letter is that of a resourceful person who has the fair amount of energy and riches to spare for his native city, when and where the need arises. During his earlier tenure in office he has led two embassies with an advantage to his city. City has duely honoured him for his services, he seems to possess a certain amount of manoeuvring power. He is politically well connected as is depicted by the urgency with which king issues his warning to all would be trouble shooters for his friend. King calls him his most genuine friend and a trust-worthy bodyguard. It would have been really hard for the boule to ignore Hestiaios. He is given a special treatment. The inter-pleading along with decree of the boule is laid before the King of Kings who decides it in favour of Hestiaios Asios who happens to be his friend. We do not know exactly what prompted the boule to waive-off a necessary condition for a valid election. though the grounds it might have furnished seem to reflect in the letter as well. The letter mentions Hestiaios Asios as an honest and an upright man, who spares neither money nor efforts for the welfare and honour of his city. It also takes note of his experience as gazophylax and other administrative abilities. But the grounds given little compensate for the rule which is selectively bypassed in the present case.



We have no means to ascertain whether it could have been a different story had Susa retained its autonomous status as before. Susa, Seleucia, Dura Europes and Persepolis<sup>118</sup> were the four major cities during the Parthian period with a cosmopolitan character. Susa like Seleucia and Dura Europes had a well pronounced majority of Greek and Roman population<sup>119</sup>. Successive Parthian rulers systematically cultivated an attitude of indifference towards all the three. During first century A.D. Susa was no more a capital of an autonomous district/region Susiana<sup>120</sup>. It was directly under the Parthian rule. However, Susa had a municipality to run its affairs with a restricted autonomy. Municipality comprised elected members who proposed candidates for the offices of magistrates. Magistrates had executive powers and as a directorate judicial and semblance of legislative powers as well, as is witnessed by the contents of the letter itself. Satrap and Strategos both lived at Susa. Satrap was a provincial authority with judicial powers within his jurisdiction. He was responsible for the defence of his province entitled to raise and collect revenue, fix land taxes and receive envoys and make arrangements to meet the occasional demands from the capital<sup>121</sup>. Strategos was head of the provincial army. By dint of his position he virtually shared power with the Satrap<sup>122</sup>. Satrap and Strategos who are addressed by name in this letter are not the parties of the dispute. They are mentioned to make it sure that the orders issued through this letter are carried out. Susa was as compared to Seleucia an *eparchy*. Richard Frye<sup>123</sup> tells us that an *eparchy* was run through a Strategos during Seleucid period but in our inscription we have both the Satrape and Strategos present here unless we differ with Franz Cumont<sup>124</sup> and understand or (misunderstand?) one of the two as *epistates*. Then as Strabo (1st century A.D.) confirms Susiana had lost much of its earlier status to a direct Parthian rule, Susa would naturally have been host as the capital of the district of the Susiana to Satrape and Strategos. It is the *epistates* appointed by the King who lays before him. The decree issued by the boule and other papers connected with the present dispute<sup>125</sup>. Thus the administrative set up for the city of Susa consisted of a boule with elected representatives from amongst the people who were entitled to vote, the archontes who were elected indirectly by the city and the *Epistates* who was the nominee of the King of Kings. The inscription was the part of the statue of Hestiaios Asios son of Demetriois alias Eisagogues erected by his father in the year 337 according to the ancient calendar. At the end of the letter the engraver mentions his name and that of his native place:

Lenidas, son of Artemon of Seleucie on the Eulaios has engraved this stone.



**Corresponding dates of Seleucid and Arsacid Era according  
to the Gregorian calendar.**

1. Beginning of Seleucid Era	312 B.C.
2. ————— Beginning of Arsacid Era	248/7 B.C.
3. A.Sel. 333                      Arsacid 268	21/22 A.D.
4.        332                      267	20/21 A.D.
5.        331                      266	19/20 A.D.
6.        330                      265	18/19 A.D.
7.        329                      264	17/18 A.D.

**Glossary**

Archon	: The Chief magistrates; elected for a different period.
Archontes	: Magistrates
Arsacis	: Family or dynastic title of the Parthian rulers. Artavan III was 18th Parthian ruler.
Bascileon Bascileus	: King of Kings
Boule	: Elected municipal Council with executive powers
Docimacia	: Enquiry/Investigation
Epistates	: The Commissioner of the city of Susa
Gazaphylax	: Treasurer
Protoi Philoi	: An honourable friend
Psephisma	: Decree
Satrap	: Governor of a province. An institution which owes its origin to Achaemenian rulers in Persia. Achaemenians called them Xshathra Pavan, the country protectors.
Strategos	: The army chief who shared the political power with a satrap or acted under the command of a satrap.

**NOTES AND REFERENCES**

1. Parthians, dismissed summarily by Iranian and non Iranian sources from history books for want of genuine material on them were dubbed as barbarians (Firdousi), unoriginal and belonging to dark ages (in Iranian history). The untruth was perpetuated by the Sassanians to present themselves as great saviours of Persian civilization. Excavations conducted during the present century have formidably contributed towards developing a right perspective about Parthians.

Parthians belonged to the nomadic tribe of Parni who once lived some where in Khurasan. They conquered Parthia which was situated little east of Caspian sea between Media in west, Ariana in east Hyrcania in North Great Salt Desert in south Parni led by their tribal lord Arsaces, defeated the Parthian satrap who was in rebellion against the Achaemenides in 238 B.C. The nobles who are counted as seven, including Arsaces himself established Arsaces on the throne of Parthia in 250 B.C. Number seven as mentioned here is very significant for a Zoroastrian. Six are the entities seventh is the Ohrmazd himself; six are the archangels presiding over the days



of a week seventh is the Ohramazd himself; six are the climes seventh clime has been adopted by Ohramazd himself. [ The region which Ohramazd most likes and adopts is the present day Central Asia].

(1) List of the Entities

- i. Asa
- ii. Armaiti
- iii. Haurvatat
- iv. Amartat
- v. Xsathra
- vi. Vohumanah
- vii. Ohramazd

These entities form the entourage of Ohramazd. U.M.Daudpota, *The Annals of Hamzah al Isfahani*, Bombay, 1932, pa 13; N.Debvoise, *A Political History of Parthia* Chicago, 1938, p 10; J.Wolski, *The Decline of the Iranian Empire of the Seleucids and the Chronology of Parthian Beginnings*, Berytus, 12, 1956-57 p 35-52, CF Fry, *The Heritage of Persia*, p 179; Edward G Browne, *Literary History of Persia* vol I, London, 1977, p 79.

2. Susa an ancient city which flourished under Achaemenides and Seleucides; situated at the foot of Zogros mountains on the north bank of Choaspes river in Khuzistan, was ideally placed midway between eastern and western extremities of the empire of Darius who made it his capital and centre of his building activity. Excavations at Susa have furnished a large number of objects of a great historical value pertaining to 4000 B.C., 3500 B.C., 3000 B.C., 2500-2300 (Simat dynasty) 2050 B.C. (Hammurabi), 16th to 19th century B.C (Elamite), 840-640 B.C. (Neo-Babylonia), 500-312 B.C (Achaemenian) Seleucid, and Sassanian and Arab periods. These objects have a great significance for cultural economic and religious studies of the respective periods.

G.B.Gray, Persian empire and the west in G.B.Burry (ed) *Cambridge History* vol iv 1977, London p 192; R Lev and Tey, Susa in *Encyclopedia Britannica* vol 21, p 460; see also vol 11, p 416, vol 21, p 864; vol 24, p 57; Richard Frye, *The Heritage of Persia*, op.cit., p 140, 143, 150, 189, 190.

3. Richard N Frye, *The Heritage of Persia*, London, p 144.
4. In Greek basileus basileus. Before Mithradates, Parthian Kings called themselves the great Kings. Agnes Baldwin Brett, coins and coinage in *Encyclopedia Americana* vol 11, 1971 U.S.A., p 280.
5. Artavan conquered Hyrcania in 252 A.D. from which position he was invited by the nobles to occupy the throne in 256/9 A.D. in place of Vonones. Edward Meyer and Mary Boyce, Artavan III in *Encyclopedia Britannica* vol 2, London 1970., p 500.
6. Arsacid empire included as vassals kingdom of Media, kingdom of Babylonia, kingdom of Armenia, kingdom of Persia during this period, Debvoise, op.cit., Chicago, 1938, p 26.
7. It was a little kingdom in the east of Khuzistan. Strabo tells us that it was vassal state during his time. Henning, *The Monuments and Inscriptions of Tangi-Sarvak*, Asia Major 2, London 1952, p 177.
8. Susiana was directly under Parthian rule during 1st century A.D. Debvoise op.cit., p 26.
9. Jamsheed Unvala, The Letter, of Artabanus III in K.R., Cama, *Oriental Journal*, no 27, Bombay, 1935, p 69.
10. See the letter on page 69
11. See the letter
12. Unvala, op.cit



13. Ibid,p 66
14. R.T.Hallock, the one year of Darius I. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 19, 1960, 36-39; Olmstead, *History of Persian Empire*, Chicago, 1948, p 101, 109.
15. G.B.Gray, Iran and West in op.cit p 192, 197, 202.
16. R,Lev and Tey Susa in *Encyclopedia Britannica* vol 21, P 460.
17. Edward Meyer and Mary Boyce, Artavan III op.cit, p 500.
18. Unvala op.cit, p 71.
19. Frye, *The Persian Heritage*, op .cit p 191, 192.
20. James R.Russell Zoroastrianism as the State Religion of ancient Iran, lecture III, in K.R.,Cama, *Oriental Institute Journal* number 53 Bombay 1986p 121.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid; Frye op.cit, p 181.
23. Hyman Kublin, Parthia in *Encyclopedia Americana*, vol 11USA 1971, p 280.
24. Frye op.cit p 192.
25. "For west Asia under Seleucid, Greek and Parthian rule saw a particularly rich confrontation of the tradition between Hellenism and Asiatic amalgam in its post Achaemenian phase. Malcolm A.R.Colledg, Sclupture Stone Carving Techniques..... in Guiseppo Tucci (ed) *East and West* vol 29 number 1-4 Rome, 1979, p 221.
26. Parthian rule was feudalistic and through *The Houses*. Only Persepolis and Ctesephon and the surrounding areas were directly under the monarch. Rostovtzeff, C.B.Welles, A Parchment Contract, *Yale Classical Studies* 2, 1931 p 46.
27. Satraps appointed by the King on merit or on family background were generally hereditary. during Parthian period they had lost much of their position. In persia they were inferior to Marzban, Frye, op.cit., p 194-195.
28. Military system was strengthened under Parthians. Strategos was a military rank inferior only to satrapes. Normally a Satrap combined in himself the functions of both the civil and military administration. Satrapes frequently revolted in the Parthian period.
29. *The Excavations at Dura Europes, V part I, the Parchment and Papyri*, ed C.B.Wells, New Haven, 1959, p 115 cf Frye, op.cit.,pp 192-194.
30. City states or eparchies of Seleucid period were autonomous units falling within a satrapy. Their autonomy depended on two conditions (a) the amount and the extent of power a satrapy wielded and (b) on the strength and the family background of the strategos who ruled the eparchy. Beckerman, op.cit, p 199.
31. M.I.Rostovtzeff, *The Social Economic History of Ancient World*, Oxford 1941, p 501.
- 32.W.Tarn, *The Greeks in Bacteria and India*, Cambridge 1951, p 5-12.
- 33.Unvala, op.cit., p 72; W.Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization*, London 1952, p 130.
- 34.Ibid.



35. In the absence of fixed rules and legal process it is difficult to pin point the officer responsible for tax collection. Frye op.cit., p 192-193.
36. Unvala, op.cit., p 72.
37. Kingdom of Armenia, Kingdom of Persis, Kingdom of Elamais where vassal states during Artavan III rule. Frye, op.cit., p 187.
38. J.Marquart, *Eransahr* Gottingen, 1901, p 123; J.Marquart, *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Eranshahr*, Rome, 1931, p 52 foll.
39. T.G.Pinches, Parthian in *Encyclopdia of Religion and Ethics* vol ix, J.Hasting, editor, Edinburgh, 1953, p 652; John Allan and Samuel Miklos Stern, Parthians in *New Encyclopedia of Britannica* vol 16, Robert P.G.Winn9ed) USA 192, p 652.
40. Malcom A.R.Colledge, op.cit., p 221.
41. O.Reuther, Parthian Architecture in A.U.Popi(ed) *Survey of Persian Art* vol 1, London 1938, p 427.
42. Rostovtzeff, *Dura-Europos and its Art*, Oxford, 1938, p 63.
43. L'Orange, *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship*, Oslo, 1953, p 35; Tarn, op.cit., p 211.
44. Duchesne-Guillemin, *The Religion of Ancient Iran*, Bombay p 157, 158.
45. Frye, op.cit., p 197 and p 278.
46. Inscriptions from Nisa and Avroman; M.Boyce, *Some Remarks On The Transmission Of The Kayanian Heroic Cycle*, Serta Cantabrigiensia, Wiesbaden, 1954, p 49-51. M.Boyce, *The Parthian Gosan and Iranian Ministrel Tradition* in J.R.A.S., London, 1957, p 10-45.
47. Duchesne-Guillemene, op.cit., p 55.
- 48/49. The inscriptions and other documents pertaining to parthian period from Susa, Nisa and Avroman exhibit the use of a mixed calendar. Susa inscription pertaining to Artavan shows both Seleucid Era and Asacid Era while the documents from Nisa belonging to 100 B.C. and 13 A.D. mark only Arsacid Era. It seems that Royal documents generally bore Arsacid Era and those specially meant for Greek cities had Seleucid Era. Adrian David Hugh Biver, *Persia under Parthians* in *Encyclopedia Britannica* vol 17, op.cit., p 665; Frye, op.cit., p 183.
50. Royal Era known as Arsacid Era.
51. Ancient Era i.e. the Seleucid Era.
52. Unvala, op.cit., p 72.
53. After the Parthians were established, they adopted an era of time reckoning probably copied from Seleucid Era; Frye, op.cit., p 181.
54. Unvala, op.cit, p 72.
55. Other methods of reckoning were also in use; Frye, op.cit., p 144.
56. Emperor's name is mentioned at the head of the letter.
57. Given the administrative system which Parthian's had or acquired they could hardly afford to be aggressive and irritatingly imposing without facing rebellion or unrest which they already had in plenty. Parthia comprised eighteen Kingdoms with diverse nationalities and languages. Under



- the given decentralised system these cultures assimilated, borrowed or learned from each other. Frye, op.cit., p 199.
58. Parthian did little to change the Seleucid system of governance in Greek cities. Frey, op.cit., p 199.
59. Susa was a Greek majority city. The names of men and dieties on the inscriptions found at Susa confirm our contention. Unvala op.cit., p 73,75. No single calendar was in use during Parthian period. Inscription found at Susa are governed by Seleucid or both Seleucid and Arsacid dating.
60. Audnaios is the month of December.
61. Artavan III was a strong King and did enough to establish a Central authority.
62. *Gazophylax*=Achemenian *Gazanbar*. Russel op.cit., p 111.
63. Frye, op.cit., p 139; Rostovtzeff, op.cit., p 518.
- 64/65. Under the Greek system magistrates were called archontes.
66. Franz Cumont, *Letter of Artavan III* (tr) Unvala, .op.cit., p 72,73.
67. In a Zoroastrian way of life good deeds are more essential than passive submission to good law.
68. Russel, op.cit., p 111.
69. The Greeks are governed by equal law *isonomous* which is not *eunomia* meaning good regulation or state of having good law. Russel, op.cit., p 110,111.
70. Ibid; p, 111.
71. Ibid; p, 111.
72. It is not easy to fix here the recipient of the letter exactly it could be boule or Hestiaios or both. This date line does not form the part of the main letter written by King and instead reflects the date on which the letter was received by the boule.
73. King of Kings earlier, Arsacid Kings called themselves great kings only. After Mithra dates II they adopted the new title of King of Kings on their coins in the manner of their predecessors to whom they traced their genealogy. Rupert Naval Richardson, Parthia in *Encyclopedia Britannica* vol 17, London, 1992, p 413; Charles J. Rodger, *Catalogue of the Coins III*, Inter India Pub, 1985, p 88. With the find of an Ostraca document number 1769 bearing Arsacid Era 157, the name of the founder of the Arsacid dynasty is established little more firmly. The document reveals the personal Royal names of the rulers in contradiction to the practice of the Parthian rulers of the western Iran.
74. Antiochos is the Satrap and Phraates is the Stratego. J. Markwart, op.cit., p 150; Unvala, op.cit., p 71.
75. Russel, op.cit., p 121.
76. The event is a clear indication of the prestige and honour which Hestiaios commanded from the city.
77. Audnaios the Greek name for the month of December. Zoroastrian names for the month were also in use in the eastern part of the empire.
78. The inscription formed part of this statue of Hestiaios Isios but unfortunately the statue was not traced during excavation. Unvala, op.cit., p 71.
79. The Greek engraver.



80. Seleucia on the Eulaeis is the city of Susa. It is a way of mentioning the exact location of a place. the capital of Seleucids is known as Seleucia on Tigris. Unvala, op.cit., p 72; Frye, op.cit., p 143.
81. The letter has been translated into English by Dr.Jamsheed ji Mauekji Unvala from French rendering done by Franz Cumont, courtesy K.R.Cama Oriental Journal 27, Bombay 1937.
82. Mithradates or Mehrdat (r.c 124-87) was probably by the first parthian ruler who used the title the King of Kings on his coins . E.T.Newell, the coinage of the Parthian, in *A Survey of parthian Art*, ed A.U.Pope I, London 1938, p 480.J.de Morgan mentions Artabanus father of Mithradates who's coins bear the title of King of Kings. *Manuel de Numismatique Orientale*,Paris 1923-1939, p 132,147 CF Richard N.Frye, op.cit., p 277.
83. After *Arshak* (Arsak) the Parnic leader and founder of the Parthian Kingdom in 247 B.C. Greeks called them the *arsikoy*. Ainslie T.Embree, *Encyclopedia of Asian History*, vol 3, London 1988, p 214.
84. I.M.Dyakonov, V.A.Livshits Dokumentyiz Nisy ( Moscow, 1960) 20, Ostraca no 1760 dated in the Arsacid royal names were used rather than the Arshak, but the first ruler apparently was called Arshak as his personal name. C.F.Richard. N Frye op.cit., p 276 fn 9.
85. The name of the Arsacid was used by the successive Parthian Kings on their coins. No XVIII here refers to Artavan III. *The decay of the Iranian Empire of the Seleucids and chronology of the Parthian beginning*, Berytus vol XII, 1956-58, p 35-52. John Allan/Samuel Miklos Stern coins and coinage in new *Encyclopedia Britannica* (ed) Robert P.G.Winn vol 16, USA 1992, p 54.
86. Charles J.Rogers, *Catalogue of the Coins*, vol III, Inter India Pub, New Delhi 1985, p 88.
87. Old Persian term artavan denotes the quality of the dead. Duchesne-Guillemin, op.cit., p 137.
88. J.R.Russel, op.cit., p 111.
89. Ibid; Duchesne-Guillemin, op.cit., p 137.
90. Ibid.
- 91.Ibid, p 154, J.R.Russel, op.cit., p 111.
92. Duchesne-Guillemin, op.cit., p 137.
- 93/94. Ibid.
95. In his Inscription at Persepolis Xerxes Prays for the artavan-hood when dead. Kent, *Language*, London 1937, p 305.
96. Jamsheed.M.Unvala, *Gift of Articles of Antiquity Excavated at Susa By Mr.R.De.Mequenem*, in (ed) Behramgore T.Anklesaria, *K.R.Cama, Oriental Journal*. No 27, Bombay 1935, p 77.
97. Adrian Hugh Biverin *Encyclopedia Britannica*, vol 17, London, 1970, p 667.
98. Unvala, *Some Observations On the Religion of the Parthians*, Bombay 1925, p 26.
- 99.Duchesne-Guillemin, op.cit., p 155.
- 100.Mithradates called himself *Phil Hellenic* on his coins, *Encyclopedia of Asian History*, op.cit., p 215.
- 101.O.Reuther, Parthian Architecture in A.U.Pope(ed) *Survey of Persian Art*, No I., London 1938, p 427; Rostovtzeff *Some New Aspects of Iranian Art* Seminarium Kondakovinum 6, Prague, 1933, p 161.



102. Richard Nelson Fry, Vonones in *Encyclopedia Britannica* (ed) Robert P.G.Winn , Vol 23, USA 1971, p 121.
103. Edward Meyer and Marry Boyce, Artabanus III in *Encyclopedia Britannica* vol 2, London 1970, p 500.
104. In Augustan Empire , *The Cambridge Ancient History*, (ed) S.A.Cook, London, rep 1977, p 278.
105. Ibid.
106. Frye, op.cit., p 191.
107. Edward David Hugh Biver.....In *Encyclopedia Britannica*, vol 17, op.cit., p 668.
108. Nobility abhorred his foreign habits and took exception to his indifference to riding and hunting. The Augustan Empire, op.cit., p 278, 279.
109. Edward David Hugh, .op.cit.
110. Artavan could rally behind him the forces which were for various reasons opposed to excessive submission to things foreign. We are not in possession of the relevant material to ascertain as what the King actually did to contain this tendency, but we know from Roman sources about a letter he is alleged to have written to Roman Emperor Trajan claiming back the territories which were once the part of Seleucid and Parthian Empire. *Cambridge Ancient History*, op.cit., p 247.
111. Ibid; p 619, 747.
112. Edward Meyer and Mary Boyce, op.cit., 500.
113. i.e the Inscription under study. See fn 63 above.
114. Plutarch renders the meaning of the name of the *Amesha Spenta Xsathra Vairya* as Greek eunomia and Darius in his inscription at Naqs Rostum proclaims to have restored good regulation. Russel, op.cit., p 111.
115. Family relation was more important. Nobles too were attached to family rather than to individual. Frye, op.cit., p 191.
116. Susa had already lost much of its independence and glory . Councillors would have hardly liked to lose it further.
117. Hestaios was a rich man and of immense influence. See the letter, p 70 foll.
118. Susa cultivated by Darius as his capita. Hill, *Coinage of Ancient Persians*, *Survey of Persian Art*, no 1, 404 sq. Debovoise, op.cit., p 26. Seleucia On Tigris was the capital of Seleucids. A great Centre of commercial activity. S.R.H.McDowell, *Stamped and Inscribed Objects from Seleucia on the Tigris*, An Arbo, 1935, cf Frye, op.cit., p 270. Duro Europos, A caravan town under parthians. Inghot, *Parthian Inscription* 4, p 48. Persepolis, Capital city of parthians; Ruins of a fire temple from the beginning of the Arsacid Period. E.Schmidt, *Persepolis* 1, Chicago 1953, p 56.
119. Under Seleucids Susa was an *eparchy* with an Strategos equivalent to that of a Strape. It became independent for a brief period after Seleucids began to disintegrate. Frye op.cit., p 278.
120. Strabo tells that during his time the district of Susiana was directly under Parthian rule. Unvala op.cit., p 73.
121. Ibid; p 72.
122. Frye, op.cit., p 140.



123. Ibid.

124. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization*, London, 1952, p 130.

125. Franz Cumont, (tr) Unvala, *Letter of Artaban III* in K.R.Cama, *Oriental Journal* (ed) Behramgore T.Anklesaria, Bombay, 1937, p 71.



## ON LANGUAGE SITUATION IN UZBEKISTAN

*\*Abdulzukur A. Abduvazizov*

Let me begin my topic from some facts of history connected with language situation in Uzbekistan as it was not possible to speak about the real language planning in the previous Soviet regime.

Languages as a vital element of ideology, social life, culture, education, anthropology requires permanent attention by all the spheres of society. Time judges everything. Now it has become clear that the Soviet totalitarian concept of language policy had a wrong fundament. It worked with high prized slogans of internationalization declaring that the national languages were determined by the process and rapprochement of socialist nations and nationalities and their cultures. Russian was the most dominant language, even called "the second native language" of all nations, penetrated into all language levels phonology, grammar, lexicon, terminology and even alphabet. The Soviet national policy was directed mainly to make all nations bilingual but the number of Russian people who were bilingual remained so meager as to be negligible even today it is not more than 3%. Moreover everything possible was attempted to discredit, blunt and bury the national values, the conscience, the traditions and the other representative symbols of culture of the constituent nationalities. The languages of these nationalities, in order to further dilute their identification marks were given the last priority. All these facts are briefly analysed in the contemporary literature by Prof. E. Allworth, W. Fierman, G. Lewis and others. This deliberate Soviet language policy has gone to the history as 'black spots' reminiscent of a colonialism. It should not be forgotten. It has a lesson for new language planners. The new language policy and planning has to make a note of past mistakes and rectify them according to the needs of the new state and with an eye on its future development. Now a new but difficult period has begun in the life of the Uzbek people. After a long discussion on October 1989 Uzbek was adopted as a state language of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Two years later on September 1991, Uzbekistan was declared an independent state. Among many new problems in the social life of Uzbekistan at present there is a very complex and complicated one the solution of which requires to pay attention to many factors. It goes without saying that it is the most difficult task to set up a new language planning and to conduct a fresh language policy. The first task to settle for the government is organisation of Advisory Council on language problem. The government of the Republic of Uzbekistan has organised the State Lan-

---

\* Professor, Tashkent State University, Uzbekistan



guage Commission headed by the Prime Minister and consisting of about twenty personal among which includes the linguists, writers, representatives of the Ministry of Education and others somehow connected with language policy.

The Council of Ministers also organised the Terminological Committee, the Uzbek Language Society and the Toponymic (place names) Commission with their branches in all the regions of Uzbekistan. All these commissions or committees have their own activities and regulation rules. But the main task of all of them is to help the government in forming the laws on the state language. At present according to the constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan all the documents, official criminal laws, meetings and conferences are conducted in Uzbek. The most parts of the newspapers, magazines and books are published in the state language. Uzbek is mostly used by radio, TV and press.

The officialization of the Uzbek language as a state language required a complex series of political and administrative actions by political entities; the Uzbek language is used in all the government transactions and functions in postages, stamp papers, bank notes and other spheres of life.

It should be underlined that the existing literature in language planning and the effective experience of some countries in this field may be useful to borrow by the new independent state. But it all depends on how to conduct language policy and language planning.

Usually three components of language planning are indicated :

- (1) the choice of a language to which the policy relates,
- (2) the policy to be followed and
- (3) the evaluation of both policies in all respects. And also language policy should be formulated, codified, elaborated and implemented (In this article I follow Eastman C.M. *Language planning*, an introduction). (1983).

The first stage of language policy is a process of deliberation and decision-making which is called formulation of language policy taking care of the goal of the nation. The declaration of the Uzbek language as a state language was the first and the right object of the government. Next stage, called codification of language policy, which occurs after policy formulation has taken place, refers to technical preparation of the decided-upon policy. But codification involves more than the mechanics of putting a policy into effective way, it also means paying attention to the feelings, attitudes, values, loyalties, preferences and practices of both policy makers and representatives of the nation. In spite of the fact that this stage has also been codified there is a tendency existing among the people to make their languages more pure, more accurate and understandable. This tendency called purification has been traditional in many countries and may



be explained as the use of old words and terminology in place of the lone words and new entrants

Some Uzbeks suggest to use words of the Arabic-Persian origin and establishing old phrases and constructions. The purification tendency may become widespread among the people who do not know the problems of language change, the right usage of international terminology. Let me give you some examples. Some Uzbek people have recently suggested the words *uzoqsado* (for radio), *yaqinnigor* (for telephone), *koporin* (autobus), *korchalon* (for businessmen), *tovushshunoslik* (for phonetics), *kimoshti* (for auction), etc. None of these words can be used as they may have different meanings. The term must have a strict definite meaning which we do not notice in these words.

Still others stress, to use old forgotten words of the Turkic origin which were substituted by Russian words in the Soviet period in spite of the fact that certain kind of equivalents exist in Uzbek. For example, *chawghon-hockey*, *kechik-a* passage from the sea, *barchin-silk*, *yetikon-a* sun of seven twin stars etc. (All these words may be found in the memorial work "*Kudatghubilik*" written by Yusuf Chos Chodjib in 1069).

The Uzbek Terminological Commission's main task is to recommend the right usage of words and the scientific-technical terms. For the present time some terminological dictionaries have been compiled and a group of linguists are working on a new academic dictionary of Uzbek. But it needs more coherent endeavors to develop and publish different kinds of dictionaries of different sizes.

Another stage is the elaboration of a language policy which also includes the extension of the official language's writing system or revision of orthography. This process is closely connected with the problems of education, literacy, printing and even religion in some countries including Uzbekistan. The Soviet colonial system put the Uzbek language to many unwarranted troubles and difficulties. It was made to adopt many scripts and reforms; notable are; the reform of the Arabic alphabet (1917-till the mid of the 1930s), the replacement by the Roman (Latin) alphabet (from the mid of the 1930s till 1940) and transference to the Cyrillic script (in 1940). And each of that alphabet reforms were explained by non-fundamental theoretical and practical frame-work but mostly for the political reasons.

The elaboration of the language policy can not be separated from the procedure of implementation which means language changes that allow the policy objectives to be realized. The reform of the alphabet should be done in the context of general acceptance of the other writing systems taking into account economic, linguistic psycholinguistic and other factors.



Historically none of the alphabets used in Uzbek have the real Turkic letters. The oldest script which existed in Turkestan territory was the Soghdian alphabet lost during the Arabic invasion. The Arabic alphabet is very difficult as usage of each letter depends on the position and it can not indicate all vowel sounds of Uzbek in writing. In spite of it, it is decided to study the Arabic alphabet at schools and universities in order to be able to read historically important books and it also helps in reading the sacred Koran in the original. As to the Russian alphabet it has the letters denoting two sound combinations and also there is a special symbol of palatalization and some other features which do not exist in reality.

The Roman (Latin) alphabet which is the basis of most of symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet, can adequately indicate all the vowel and consonant sounds (phonemes) of Uzbek. The phonological and graphical coincidence may be proved by the fact of existence "one phoneme - one symbol" which is easy to learn and it can raise literacy level of the society. Another fact is that the Latin script was used in Uzbek for about ten years and many people remember it well. The Roman (Latin) alphabet was adopted in Turkish and nothing has happened since then. The Roman (Latin) alphabet is used in many countries of the world. The people who know the Latin alphabet can easily study other languages, mostly European. The Latin alphabet is widely used in modern technology (fax, computer, telegraphy etc.) which shows practical usefulness of it. All these facts prove that the Roman (Latin) alphabet is simple, adaptable, suitable and therefore acceptable for Uzbek. Historically three revised types of the Roman (Latin) alphabet were proposed (in 1927-1934, in 1934-1940 and in 1938-1939) for Uzbek. A group of Uzbek linguists has deeply studied all those proposed types of the Roman (Latin) alphabet and has recommended to choose the version consisting of 33 letters proposed by participants of the conference in Samarkand in 1929 with some revisions and diacritic symbols. This alphabet scheme is very similar to the one consisting of 34 letters proposed in Turkey in March 1939, for all the Turkic languages. In September 1993 the Supreme Council of Republic of Uzbekistan declared the acceptance of the revised Roman (Latin) alphabet for Uzbek and beginning from 1995, it will be introduced in schools and universities and transference to it may be finished in the year 2000. There may be some difficulties in transferring to the Roman (Latin) alphabet but this task may be fulfilled gradually.

Speaking briefly, as a young independent country Uzbekistan has declared Uzbek as a state language, organized the State Language Commission, the Uzbek Language Society, the Terminological Committee and adopted the revised Roman (Latin) alphabet in its writing system, and substituted many place names given in the previous Soviet rule. All that has been done in a very short time. Language planning is necessarily future-oriented process and it requires much effort of both plan-makers and representatives of the nation.



# AGRO-CLIMATIC REGIONALIZATION OF WESTERN TURKESTAN

*\*G. M. Mir*

Spatial analysis of phenomenon leading to regional variations is of fundamental importance for a geographer whose observations should be based on cause-effect relationship, the level of latter being inversely proportionate to intensity of determinism. Though agro-climatological research, the objective of which is to contribute for optimization of output in quantity as well as quality and simultaneously maintaining ecological balance, has shown remarkable signs of advancement since 1950 but still things do not look simple in spite of the fact that certain correlations seem to have been better established. In climatology the physical environment of plants is described in terms of certain parameters of which climate, an independent variable, is most important in agricultural operations by way of interacting with other variables to modify a particular land for a specific agricultural system. This paper which is an attempt towards that direction shows the magnitude of agro-climatic responses in the Western Turkestan in a regional dimension. How climate poses limits in agricultural land use and cropping pattern, and to what extent it provides guidelines leading to various levels of agricultural development has been elucidated.

## **Climate**

The outstanding characteristics of the study area and the feature that mostly unifies it with remaining part of the Central Asia is aridity. Here evapotranspiration always exceeds precipitation resulting thereby the unusual climatic regime of Egyptian summers and Siberian winters. Factors of paramount importance for such a climate are its interior continental location, comparatively higher latitude as well as lower altitude, rare vegetation, deserty soils and the mountains rimming the entire southern edge of the region which rule out any possibility of moisture from India ocean and Arabian sea.

## *Temperature Variations*

During summer the region is filled with hot dry surface air blowing normally from the cold north around eastern end of the 'Azores High' that generally produce a low pressure system especially in its south-eastern part and mainly

---

\* Lecturer in Regional Geography, Centre of Central Asian Studies, University of Kashmir.



through the process of conduction temperature shows an abrupt increasing trend. Higher temperatures are characteristic of much of the plains and lower foot-hills. The average maximum summer temperature of Kushka is 27.6°C and maximum absolute temperature recorded so far is as high as 46°C. Ashkhabad is even hotter, experiencing a maximum average temperature of 31.2°C but has recorded a temperature of 47°C. Kzyl Orda generally averages a maximum of 24.6 °C while its highest record is 46°C. Kustany experiences a summer temperature of 42°C. In the mountains, of course, summer temperatures drop rapidly, Tien Shan ranging between 4 to 5°C while the maximum summer temperature ever reached touches 19°C.

In winter the cold air blowing from Siberia and Arctic ocean along the southern periphery of 'Asiatic High' leads to rigorous winters. Tashkent experiences a mean minimum temperature of -1°C and the lowest ever reached temperature is as low as -30 °C. Kushka has a minimum average of 2°C and the minima reached so far is -33°C. Further west, Krasnovodsk measures an absolute winter temperature of -17°C whereas in Kzyl Orda -39°C has been recorded against an average of 9.6°C. The average minimum temperatures of Alma Ata and the higher elevations of Tien Shan are -7°C and -21.9°C respectively while the latter has recorded a lowest temperature of -48° C<sup>1</sup>.

### *Mode of Precipitation*

The two weather extremities i.e. dry hot during summer and dry cold in winter as well as their varying nature both in time and space leading to pressure variations give rise to air movements of different intensities. The contany of the winter weather produced by the 'Asiatic High' is broken up frequently by cyclonic storms which usually follow three favoured tracks of south Caspian, Murgab and the upper Amu darya. As they approach the high mountains, the fronts wrap around the mountain spurs and cause many topographically induced occlusions that may stagnate for long time and dump considerable amount of snow on southern slopes at intermediate elevations. On the plains winters are relatively cloudy and normally every third day experience a little rain.

Though the precipitation does not display any coherent pattern, but some lower order regional variations are obvious. Large sections along the Caspian and western lake Balkhash receive an annual precipitation of less then 100 mm. This rainfall range includes also some higher elevations and mountain peaks normally over 5000 meters above mean sea-level as they are above most of the cloud formation. The typical example is that of eastern Pamirs which receive as low as 75 mm precipitation per annum. Most of the lowlands record 100 to 200 mm, Ferghana city in south eastern Ferghana basin receiving 169 mm. The extensive foot hills and the intermountain basins generally fall in third rainfall region which ranges from 200 to 400 mm. Kustany and south Kzyl Orda having



respective annual figures of 268 and 273 mm. Intermediate mountain slopes experience 400 to 1600 mm whereas some of the more exposed slopes receive an annual precipitation of more than 1600 mm. Alma Ata at an elevation of 848 meters in the mountain foot hills of eastern Kazakhstan comes under such a precipitation region. The wetter slopes generally face southward and catch heavy snow from advancing warm fronts in cyclonic storms.<sup>2</sup>

### Climatic Regions

On the basis of climatic variables leading to 'Moisture Index' (Potential evapo-transpiration), climatologists and physical geographers have prepared a scheme of climatic regionalization which is based on the indices of selected indicators e.g. humidity, accumulated temperature, winter temperature and annual precipitation.

#### *Indices Methodology*

##### (i) *Humidity*

An index has been worked out according to the ratio of precipitation to evapo-transpiration which expresses the effectiveness of moisture. Thus, the three categories of humidity worked out are as follows:

<u>Category</u>	<u>Moisture Index</u>
Humid	0.45-1.00
Inadequately Humid	1.00-3.00
Dry	>3

##### (ii) *Accumulated Temperature*

This index is worked out according to the availability of temperature data. Everyday each degree centigrade of temperature above the threshold of 10°C is counted as one unit. So the emerging three conditions of temperature are as under :

<u>Category</u>	<u>Accumulated Temperature °C</u>
Moderate	1000-2200
Warm	2200-4400
Very Warm	>4400

##### (iii) *Winter Temperature*

The winter temperature is by the means for the month of January. The calculated four categories are given below:



Category	Temperature(°C)
Very severe	<-32
Severe	-13 to -32
Less severe	0 to -13
Mild	>0

This scheme given in Atlas SSR (1969), divides the entire former Soviet Central Asia into 13 climatic regions<sup>3</sup> (Table I).

TABLE I  
CLIMATIC REGIONS OF WESTERN TURKESTAN

Region	Humidity Level	Accumulated Temp.	Winter Temp.	Annual Precipitation (cm)
I	Humid	Moderate	Severe	> 50
II	Inadequately Humid	Moderate	Severe	< 50
III	-do-	-do-	-do-	> 50
IV	-do-	- do-	Less Severe	> 50
V	-do-	Warm	V. Severe	< 50
VI	-do-	-do-	Severe	< 50
VII	-do-	V. Warm	Less Severe	Not Specified (But Small)
VIII	Dry	Moderate	Severe	< 50
IX	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-
X	-do-	Warm	-do-	-do-
XI	-do-	-do-	Less Severe	Not Specified (But Small)
XII	-do-	V. Warm	-do-	-do-
XIII	-do-	-do-	Mild	-do-

Source : Atlas, SSR, 1969

The foregoing scheme of climatic regionalization tie in with the natural zones of their characteristic vegetation and correspond to four macro vegetation zones. Region one correspond with coniferous forest zone; II - VI with steppe and wooded steppes; VII to xerophytic subtropical vegetation and region VIII - XIII correspond with semi-desert vegetation zone of the muslim republics.

### Agricultural Profile

In the economic structure of the Western Turkestan farming plays a pivotal role, providing employment to more than 27 percent of the total population. The agricultural land use and cropping pattern, as per 1980 census, reveal that



11.8 percent of the geographical area was sown. The republic-wise figures of such percentages show that Uzbekistan with a percentage of 21 leads in this picture followed by Kazakhstan (16 percent), Kirghizia (11 percent), Tadzhikistan (9 percent) and Turkmenia (2 percent). The intensity of cropland shows that Kazakhstan has a holding size of 172 hectares: 100 inhabitants whereas all other four republics lag much behind this ratio and on an average their ratio comes to 44:100<sup>4</sup>. Grain crops occupied about 64 percent of the total regional arable land of which more than half is under wheat. The industrial crops cover 7.6 percent of the total cropped area out of which cotton alone sprawls over 89 percent. 27.4 percent comes under feed crops while the remaining over 1 percent was devoted to fruits and vegetables.

Because none of its area can be classified as humid, and moreover, due to the limited perennial water sources, the bearings of climate on the spatial distribution of crops is evident. As the rainfall continues to diminish and summer temperatures increase in the northern part, the vegetation changes from steppe through semi-deserts to deserts and the arable land virtually disappears. Natural pastures become poor and over large areas vegetation almost vanishes effecting stock densities. The region is traditionally the homes of nomadic sheep herders but in some areas where farming is possible, cattle are kept only on the fringe of cultivated lands.

#### *Irrigated Operations*

The Western Turkestan contains 7 percent of its sown area as irrigated.<sup>5</sup> The region of irrigated agriculture occurs in mountain basins, in border zones between the mountains and deserts and along the river valleys which stretch into the latter. One of the major irrigated belt lies in the east associated with the head waters of Chu river near Frunze. About 90 percent of the irrigated acreage in Chu Valley is planted with grain crops mainly winter wheat and barley but the valley is best known for its sugar beets. The region produces large quantities of rice, hemp tobacco, vine, vegetables, mulberry trees and a variety of fruits.

The cotton belt which begins farther southeast with Syr darya and Ferghana basin, fulfills the basic requirements for cotton growing e.g. longest and hottest maturing season. It is the speciality crop of the area and climate restricts its expansion from northern slopes of Tien Shan. At end of the Ferghana basin Farkhad dam on Syr darya has contributed a lot in areal sprawl of rice and cotton in the Hungry steppe. Alfalfa has been introduced in rotation with cotton to add nitrogen to the soil and to absorb some of salt contents accumulated through prolonged irrigation whereas lucerne is grown in rotation with cotton just to encourage stock rearing with karakul sheep as major product.



Another cotton belt lies in the area constituting the oldest civilization of Central Asia along the Zeravshan river, the next large irrigation tract extending from Hungry steppe. It has been estimated that the cotton potential of Karshi steppe, southeast of Bukhara, is equivalent to one-third of the entire output of Uzbekistan which was the major cotton producer of former Soviet Union.

### *Dry Farming*

Western Turkestan has a long as well as chequered history of dry farming mainly regulated by the attitude of political leaderships towards this direction and rural masses from time to time. It was carried on in moister loessial foothills where annual precipitation averages 250-400 mm. Widespread patches of agricultural land throughout the region grow a wide variety of crops but due to low and unreliable rainfall the yield level always remains low. The farming of newly introduced agricultural lands have produced some of the grain that was displaced by cotton during the early part of Soviet development. Most of these patches lie adjacent to Kazakhstan just to north of the region. In between the irrigated oases the fertile loess belts of Kazakhstan are occupied by dry farmed grain wherever precipitation is sufficient to meet atleast the basic crop requirements.

### *Cropping Pattern*

The agricultural census for the base year reveal that in terms of area wheat (spring and winter) is a leading crop of the region sprawling over extensive virgin land as well. Most of the area under both season wheat is found in Kazakhstan though some patches respond poorly. It is because of its major contribution in wheat production that it was called 'Bread Basket' of the former Soviet Union.<sup>6</sup>

Cotton, the next major crop, occupies an area of 2713 thousand hectares. It provides raw-material for the textile industry and oil from its seeds. Although a drought-resistant crop, it normally requires moisture with rich soil, hence its principal base being in Uzbekistan where 1773 thousand hectares i.e. above 55 percent of its gross cropped area is devoted to it. The republic produces about 68 percent of country's raw cotton. The large concentrations of this crop include basin of Syr darya (mainly Ferghana valley), the lower reaches of Amu darya, valleys of Chirchik, Zeravshan, Kashka darya, Surkhan darya, and Hungry steppe. Turkemenia was considered the home of Soviet's fine-fibred cotton. It has an area of 487 thousand hectares under cotton and large cotton growing areas are the basins of Murgab and Tedzhen rivers. The main cotton tracts in Tadzhikistan are in the Vakhsh Gissar and Ferghana valleys combinedly sharing an area of 271 thousand hectares of land. In Kirghizia the main cotton belts are Ferghana and Chu valleys having a total area of 72 thousand hectares whereas Kazakhstan has a hectareage of 110 thousands nearly all in its southern part.<sup>7</sup>



Due to accelerated irrigational facilities the area under paddy showed a marked growth trend with an absolute figure of 219 thousand hectares out of which 105 thousand hectares are in Kazakhstan alone. The main rice producing areas are Ferghana valley, Kzyl Orda and Chimkent oblasts, lower reaches of Syr darya, Amu darya, Issyk kul basin and other irrigated patches. The potatoes and vegetables were sown as a raw-material for food industry. The large areas devoted to potatoes are located near big cities, industrial centres, starch-dextrine and alcohol producing areas as well as near live-stock breeding region. In the base year vegetables covered an area of 232 thousand hectares, Uzbekistan taking a lead with 104 thousand hectares of land under vegetables. Field corn covers an area of 242 thousand hectares, sugar beet 123 thousand hectares while other miscellaneous crops sprawled over 250 thousand hectares of the regional land. The production of sub-tropical and temperate fruits is an important agricultural activity of the Western Turkestan. The main fruitgrowing areas are Tadzhikistan, Kirghizia, northern Tien Shan foothills near the city of Alma Ata, Turkemenia and in loess soil tracts of south-eastern Uzbekistan. Moreover, there are large patches of land on river banks and in semi-desert steppes devoted to mulberry trees.<sup>8</sup>

### Agricultural Regions

The spatial distribution of land use and cropping pattern lead to a broad agricultural regionalization of the study area presenting eight macro agricultural regions based on the scheme of Nikitin and Stroyer. Region I consists of cereals mainly spring wheat, millets, dairying and fine woolled sheep. Region II covers cattle for meat, tallow and milk, semi-fine woolled sheep, horse breeding on steppe and semi-desert pastures. Third region includes sheep and Karakul on desert and semi-desert pastures while the fourth contains mountain grazing of cattle, sheep and yak. The fifth region deals with irrigated wheat, tobacco and sugar beets. Region sixth comprises irrigated cotton growing areas with fruits, vine and sericulture. The seventh region includes irrigated rice while the last region pertains to irrigated urban oriented trunks, gardening and dairying.

### Main Findings and Suggestions

The agricultural framework of the Western Turkestan as revealed by the foregoing analysis leads to a higher level correlation that exists between agriculture and climate. By superimposing the two maps of climatic and agricultural regions (Fig. 1), the emerging macro level agro-climatic regionalization reveals that fertile plains and warm regions of Ferghana valley, Karshi steppe, Hungry steppe and major river valleys where intensity of irrigation is comparatively higher, cotton and important cereals are grown. On the undulating slopes of southern foothills which are rich in loessic soils but with



little rain, dry farming is practised. Areas with moderate temperature and precipitation in Tien Shan, Pamirs and other steep slopes have been devoted to horticulture. The meadows, pasture lands and semi-deserts are grazing areas for livestock. The northern Kazakhstan which is steppery, plain and temperate has been brought under spring wheat, sunflower, vegetables and other commercial crops.

The recent Soviet efforts as well as the cooperation extended by the indigenous population has played a significant role in reducing, to some extent, the dwarfing effects of weather in farming operations. The true nomadism has declined in importance as a way of life and some measures have been initiated to improve both the agriculture as well as nomadism. After some recent observations which have shown that this enormous belt can be utilized for a wide variety of crops, in addition to its rich mineral base and pastoral economy, some early maturing-cum-drought-resistant varieties have been introduced and most of them are yet in experimental stage but the results seem promising. In the favourable areas fodder crops are grown to supplement the scanty natural grazing. The main effort has been to increase the stock densities by drilling large numbers of different types of wells to irrigate pastures and providing drinking pools. The availability of air crafts have been made possible to direct flocks to pastures and to maintain contact between the herds and herders. Improved weather forecasting allow flocks to be moved to safety from storms and drought. Shelter belts have been made in Kzyl Orda oblast to protect flocks wintered there.

Although a breakthrough in agricultural development has been made possible by diffusion of technology, though of lower order, for releasing some of the pressure of climatic impact on farming but still there is a vast scope for further improvement in the situation. Some measures are of long term type (drainage, shelter belts, green houses, land shaping etc.), while short period measures include irrigation, fertilizers, lining, planting methods, air heaters, insecticide-fungicides application and mulches. Some of these, like drainage and irrigation, can largely control moisture excess and deficiency and soil temperature while others can have only partial as well as very short period influence. It is likely that the control may develop new resistant fauna and flora strains and pollution (of soils, water and air) that are enemical to bio-organisms calling for constant vigil and new methods of control.

Some times local political-cum-economic conditions may not be conducive for proper control of climate and weather hazards, e.g. excessive deforestation, reckless grazing of grassland, bringing sub-marginal lands under plough, not following land use as per use capability, and over irrigation. These finally cause heavy erosion, floods, loss of productive grasslands, water-logging and salt problems.

The prolonged irrigation has to be controlled to prevent increasing salinity which is very harmful for all crops. There are large patches of uncultivated land



which may offer great scope for a variety of crops after overcoming humus problem<sup>9</sup>. The thick loessic silts and mud brought down by rivers along the fringe of the desert belt can prove extremely fertile for agricultural expansion when irrigated and do not accumulate harmful salts. The scattered unused patches of black soil seem fertile and have added ability to retain moisture for longer period and decompose organic matter easily. Some dry steppes and semi-desert tracts lack sodium and calcium but through the application of lime and gypsum these areas can be brought on the agricultural map of the region.

Due to global warming which is currently one of the important international issue, the region has also shown some fluctuations in local temperature - normally an increasing trend, which is going to effect its land use intensity and cropping pattern. This problem can be controlled, to some extent, through the introduction of algae at large scale. As algae when exposed to high temperature produces sulphur compounds that get converted into sulphate particles around which clouds form. The cloud cover thus produced can lower the local temperature of the region.

The disintegration of Soviet Union presents us with some of the acute problems - one such issue concerns the breakup of integrated watersheds. The intensity of this problem, some scholars foresee, can be one of the great aftershocks of the political earthquake that hit the country recently. There are two dimensions of this problem; upstream-downstream water sharing and the receding water-level, the latter being mainly the result of climatic changes as well as water mismanagement. Amu-Syr river system is considered the life-line of the area supplying water for all purposes and finally providing water input to Aral sea - once the fourth largest global inland water body. But the region especially Transoxania with particular reference to Uzbekistan, faces environmental catastrophe because of the drying up trend of Aral sea and is creating vast inland desert. The sea is now only 55 per cent of its original area and about 31 per cent of its original volume. Its level has dropped by about 50 feet so far and is presently dropping by 30 cm per annum.

This worrying problem has worsen mainly due to the melting of snow at its sources which tumbles down along Amu and Syr darya, being drawn off for farming and other uses without any proper management. Every year the five states drain off about 11 km<sup>3</sup>, the volume which is not enough even to keep the Aral sea stable. They nearly stop it from drying faster. Yet the amount of river water now being siphoned off is already too small to maintain current level of farm output. Nearly a quarter of irrigated land of the largest farming region in Uzbekistan receives only 70 per cent of water, that the main crop, cotton needs to grow properly. So the top priority is to be given to efficient water management in order to reduce the climatic determinism. After cession from erstwhile Soviet Union the five Central Asian republics have felt the need of proper water planning and some steps have been initiated in this direction. Recently two 'River Basin Commissions' have been established as a joint venture for collecting data



and its analysis, water management and forecasting.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, 'Inter-governmental "Aral" fund' was also institutionalised in May, 1992 in order to stop Aral sea from drying up.<sup>11</sup> Although these steps with a score of others have been taken, still there is a vast scope for further measures in order to use water more efficiently and for preserving the sources of rivers; and the region has to keep it up if its fast growing population has to sustain as well as dependence on weather and its hazards have to be minimised.

Suitability of any area, before planning for agricultural pursuits, has to be properly understood. Systematic appraisal of climatic conditions for estimating potential of crop coupled with other local environmental factors is essential for appropriate practices in agricultural production. Such analysis pre-supposes the availability of comprehensive data both on climate as well as on plant growth nature. Moreover, a balanced agricultural development demands a strategy in which agriculture is transformed without disturbing ecological balance. Keeping in view all such considerations, mixed agriculture combining various crop cultivation systems with some system of livestock breeding can be recommended for the region. It is the most balanced form of agricultural land use suited for the area both from the point of human sustenance and its impact on environment. It can provide almost all necessary components of human consumption, forage for animals as well as nutrients to maintain fertility cycle of soil in imbalance. Being based on various crop and animal products it is least risky also from the economic point of view, when both vagaries of weather and market fluctuations are taken into account. However, the region's mode of future agricultural development depends mainly on the attitude of emerging political leadership towards accelerating the speed of the concerned projects already initiated by Soviets, and how far they succeed in discouraging the undesired steps taken for short term benefits at the cost of long term agricultural planning.

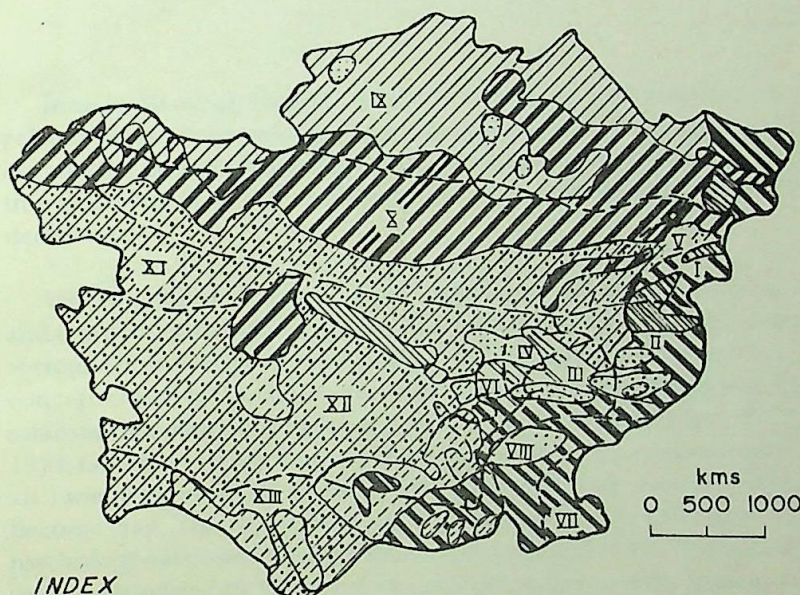
### NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Lydolp, P.E., : *Geography of USSR*, 1977, pp. 304-347.
2. Heintzelman, Oliver, H. and Highsmith, R.M., : *World Regional Geography*, London, 1965, pp. 250-252.
3. Cole, J.P., : *Geography of the Soviet Union*, 1984, pp. 65-66.
4. *ibid*, : p. 19.
5. Maltsev, A. Ye., : *Land and Water Resources of Central Asia and their Agricultural Utilization*, Alim, Frunze, 1969 (In Russian).
6. Lavrischew, A.N., : *Economic Geography of the USSR*, Moscow, 1969, p. 282.
7. Lydolp, op. cit. : pp. 312-321 and 349-355.
8. Prokhorov, A.M. : (Edt.), *Great Soviet Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 31, New York, 1979, pp. 564-587.
9. Mir, G.M., : *Regional Geography of Central Asia*, Srinagar, 1993, pp. 102-7.
10. Internal World Bank Documents : *Country Economic Memorandum*, November, 1992.
11. Eika Weinthal, : *Water Management and Institutions in Central Asia*, Columbia University, December, 4, 1993.



# WESTERN TURKESTAN

## AGRO-CLIMATIC REGIONS



### INDEX

	Spring Wheat, Millets, Dairying and fine Woolled Sheep		Irrigated Rice
	Livestock Grazing on steppe & Semi Desert Pastures		Irrigated Wheat, Tobacco and Sugar Beets
	Sheep and Karakul on Desert and Semi Desert		Irrigated Cotton
	Mountain Grazing of Yak, Sheep and Cattle		Boundary of Climatic Regions
	Irrigated Urban oriented Grazing and Dairying		

Source: Reproduced on the basis of :

(i) Atlas SSSR (1969)

(ii) Nikitin and Stroyer (1971) and

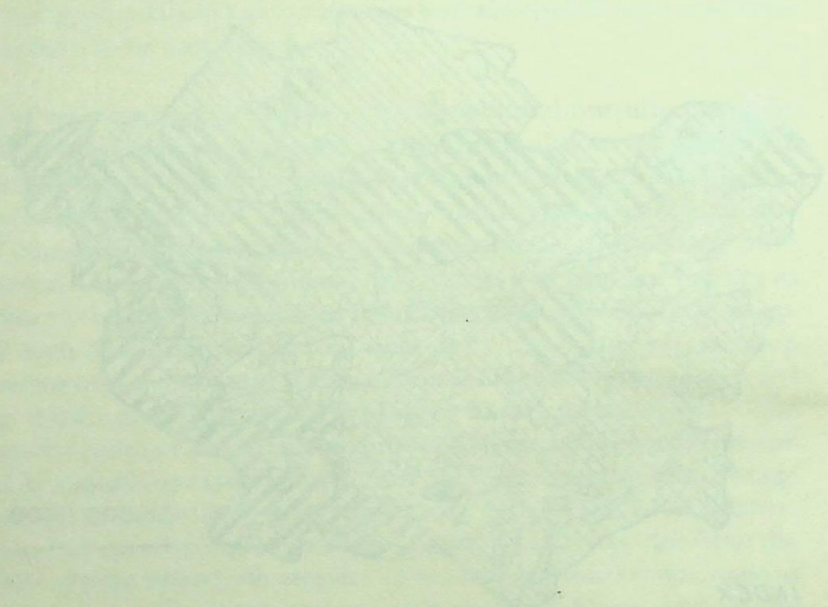
(iii) Latest data from various sources.

Fig. 1



# WESTERN REGION

ASSOCIATION OF STATES



Legend

1. Mountainous Region

2. Plateau Region

3. Desert Region

4. Great Basin Region

5. Pacific Coast Region

6. Great Plains Region

7. Rocky Mountain Region

8. Colorado Plateau Region

9. Basin and Range Region

10. Intermountain Region

1. Mountainous Region

2. Plateau Region

3. Desert Region

4. Great Basin Region

5. Pacific Coast Region

6. Great Plains Region

7. Rocky Mountain Region

8. Colorado Plateau Region

9. Basin and Range Region

10. Intermountain Region

Source: Adapted from the map of the Western United States, published by the U.S. Geological Survey, 1954.

Reprinted by permission of the U.S. Geological Survey.

Information on the Western United States is available from the U.S. Geological Survey, Reston, Virginia.

For more information, contact the U.S. Geological Survey, Reston, Virginia.



# PERSONALITY CORRELATES OF SOCIOMETRIC STATUS

## A study of subcultural group differences

*\*A.G. Madhosh*

In an earlier study (Madhosh: 1984) a criterion-decision was shown positively related to an interpersonal group situation with the reference to sociometric estimates of popularity and rejection. The argument that was forwarded through this thesis was that the sociometric matrix directly varies with the criterion decision.

Where as this study made a significant departure from a conventional 'spatial and temporal proximity' hypothesis or strait and factor analytic treatment of the sociometric research in the small-group situations, a line on the: personality, concept could not be drawn. the personality factor was taken and treated in the same vain as research had monitered (Hartop: 1970, Roistacher: 1972, Kirchhoff: 1974, Gottman: 1977). The question that, how long can personality be taken as an Independent factor in the personality and sociometric research has now become vital. The research in the fields of sociology, anthropology and social psychology has by and large established what Cattell (1948) calls group "Syntality" to be internalized by the members of a group for healthy individual and social growth. The dependence of personality on sociocultural conditions is by no means a new point to put forward. There are both theoretical as well as empirical bases for this conclusion. For example the concepts of 'basic personality' (Kardiner: 1962), national - character (Dubois: 1944, Mead: 1953) and modal personality (Linton: 1945,) speak for themselves.

Empirically too, researches by leak (1982), Ruback (1983), Izard (1983), Pryor (1983), Barret (1984) Saborine (1985) have worked the social-desirability loading of personality factors for any study component. And the sociometric investigation could not be an exception. The dependability of the personality factors on the sociocultural desirability should be, therefore, a very relevant question in this context. As a matter of fact the present study was designed to answer this question. More clearly, the question addressed to the present study was: How far does a cultural variation reflect itself in the sociometric data of the personality is allowed to vary along the cultural continuum and not operate as an independent variable.

---

\* Professor, Faculty of Education, The University of Kashmir



**Method:**

Three cultural subgroups of Ladakh, Jammu and Kashmir were initially identified for a detailed sociometric and personality analysis. Although these three subcultural systems have a geographical proximity and a political unity yet they are poles apart from each other in the cultural context (Hassan: 1959, Bomzai: 1960, Cunningham: 1970, Sufi: 1974). In all 300 male subjects of 17+ in the classes 9th to 10th were selected for the study. The subjects were first classified sociometrically using a three - criterion and three choice matrix. This followed by the administration of the 16 PF questionnaire (Cattell: 1964). Now there were 300 personality profiles ready for basic sociometric groups of populars, Neglectees and Isolates from three cultural varieties of subjects.

As required, a social desirability scale was constructed to estimate the social desirability of the traits measured by the questionnaire, 16PF. Ninety judges (thirty from each subculture) were provided a list of 16 bipolar traits and were asked to rate them on a 9 point scale of social desirability. A Retest reliability of the scale gave a coefficient of 0.69 on the whole. A factorwise Retest reliability is mentioned in the tables 1.0 and 1.1 below. This is for positive and reverse trait adjectives done separately. The final index of comparison was the median score obtained from the judges (one scale for each 30 judges).

**TABLE 1.0**

Test-Retest coefficient of the Desirability  
Opinionnaire. (Positive - Adjectives).

Cultural settings	Factors															
	A	B	C	E	F	G	H	I	L	M	N	O	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4
Kashmir	.85	.69	.68	.75	.81	.71	.72	.71	.68	.71	.63	.85	.81	.73	.72	.87
Jammu	.72	.62	.71	.69	.71	.59	.81	.64	.61	.71	.80	.91	.71	.69	.67	.75
Ladakh	.22	.81	.71	.47	.38	.30	.42	.35	.22	.31	.32	.30	.28	.61	.67	.26

**TABLE 1.1**

Test-Retest coefficient of the Desirability  
Opinionnaire. (Reverse - Adjectives).

Cultural settings	Factors															
	A	B	C	E	F	G	H	I	L	M	N	O	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4
Kashmir	.39	.42	.42	.34	.41	.41	.33	.42	.36	.55	.41	.34	.52	.45	.57	.59
Jammu	.21	.39	.35	.42	.42	.53	.24	.39	.31	.22	.42	.35	.42	.31	.58	.39
Ladakh	.76	.70	.65	.65	.68	.68	.80	.53	.82	.72	.85	.79	.71	.91	.69	.81



Statistical design involved or number of measures, for ordinary trait-to-trait comparison the T-test was a better statistics, but for intra and inter group comparisons the pattern similarity coefficients (\*rp) used extensively by Catell (1970) were used. Siegel's (1956) modified Rank order coefficient of correlation was applied to elect the relationship between a subcultural variation in the social-desirability assessments and the personality characteristics peculiar to different sociometric categories.\*\*

More statistics was employed to workout (i) the sociometric status index for each subject by  $\frac{n}{1(N-1)}$ , (ii) social compatibility index by  $\frac{M_n}{N-1}$  and (iii) the group cohesiveness index by  $\frac{M_n}{P_n}$  (number of mutual choices to be divided by number of possible choices which are determined by  $\frac{N(N-1)}{2}$ ). The sociometric statistics was largely drawn from Lindzey and Byrne: 1968.

$$r_p = \frac{(4K^2 + \sum D^2) - \sum d^2}{(4K^2 + \sum D^2) + \sum d^2}$$

$$r = \frac{\sum x^2 + \sum y^2 - d^2}{2 \times \sqrt{\sum x^2 - \sum y^2}} \text{ in which } \sum x^2 = \frac{N^3 - N}{12} - \sum TX$$

$$\sum y^2 = \frac{N^3 - N}{12} - \sum TY$$

### Results

The means of 16 trait scores (in stens) of 300 subjects identified as Populars, Neglectees and Isolates in the three culture groups are reported below (Table 2). The descriptions of the trait scores are based on the high-score, Low-score distribution given by Cattell (1970).

TABLE-2  
PERSONALITY PROFILES OF THE SOCIOMETRICALLY  
IDENTIFIED GROUPS FROM THREE SUBCULTURES  
MEANS IN STEN SCORES (DECIMAL AFTER 1ST  
DIGIT OMITTED)

Cultural settings	Category	Factors															
		A	B	C	E	F	G	H	I	L	M	N	O	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4
Kashmir N = 120	P	83*	73	86	45	39	58	95	40	45	76	35	46	49	35	75	35
	N	23	31	75	74	53	74	32	20	70	40	59	43	75	32	38	50
	I	25	73	25	83	18	83	23	35	75	23	78	83	73	75	77	76
Jammu N = 90	P	75	70	35	80	73	32	87	31	82	76	65	38	45	60	73	37
	N	29	25	63	73	21	13	25	75	60	31	41	63	75	73	21	65
	I	13	43	53	65	25	34	43	80	73	25	80	73	72	63	27	76
Ladakh N = 90	P	42	83	37	43	71	76	25	32	23	12	71	21	13	81	41	34
	N	62	32	42	52	19	70	82	43	19	82	21	32	80	71	32	32
	I	63	76	76	32	43	43	91	73	73	59	42	83	62	52	76	19

\* 83 will be read as 8.3

From the table, Kashmiri popular's personality appears one of strong emotional stability (C+), spontaneity (H+), and high mental ability (B+). these subjects seem generally unfrustrated and relaxed (Q4). on the contrary neglectees tend to be hard and obstructive (A-), they are dull (B-) and timid (H-). Being doubtful of others (L+) may be a special reason for getting neglected. The isolates are markedly cool (A-), they like things other than people, they are generally tense and restless (Q4) high Q3 makes them temperamentally inde-



pendent. But they are shrewd (N+) and with driving (A).

For the Jammu sample, the profile of the Populars shows that Populars are affectionate (A+), intelligent (B+), self-sufficient (Q2+). They are aggressive and happy-go-lucky (E, +F+). The neglectees are hard and obstructive (A-), dull (B-) and timid (H). They are maladjusted (Q8-) but not submissive (E+), Isolates are cool (A-), dull (B-), worldly wise (N+) with a low superego strength (G). They are emotionally less stable (C) and pessimistic (F).

The Ladakhi Populars are distinctly cool (A-) but wise (B+), they are strictly conventional and conservative (M). They are slaves of their own urges (Q3-), and rule-bound (G+). They are not socially bold (H-). On the other hand Ladakhi Neglectees are free thinking (Q1+) and not conventional (M-). They are participating and easy-going (A+), socially bold (H+) but guilt prove (O+) they are emotionally stable (C+) but dull (B-).

A detailed statistical comparisons were made on the regional bases. Since no relevant issue will be cleared by this comparison, a straight configurational analyses will be presented along a subcultural continuum. Table 3 will draw configurational comparisons between Jammu and Kashmir sociometric groups.

TABLE. 3  
INTER-CULTURE-CONFIGURATIONAL ANALYSIS

Sociometric Categories	$\Sigma d^2$	rp	level of significance
Jammu Prop.V.Kashmiri Prop	76.25	+.37	$P < .01$
Jammu Prop.V.Kashmiri Neg.	159.30	-.25	$P < .05$
Jammu Prop.V.Kashmiri Iso.	191.01	-.28	$P < .02$
Jammu Neg.V.Kashmiri Prop.	212.05	-.31	$P < .01$
Jammu Neg.V.Kashmiri Neg.	130.36	+.25	$P < .05$
Jammu Neg. V.Kashmiri Iso.	101.05	+.27	$P < .01$
Jammu Iso.V.Kashmiri Prop.	238.63	-.34	$P < .01$
Jammu Iso.V.Kashmiri Neg.	92.05	+.34	$P < .01$
Jammu Iso.V.Kashmiri Iso	91.92	+.34	$P < .01$

A comparison of Jammu-Populars with their counter parts in Kashmir shows that the two groups are considerably similar ( $rp = +.31$ ,  $P < .01$ ) Jammu populars and Kashmiri Neglectees are inversely related ( $rp = -.25$ ,  $P < .01$ ). Jammu populars and Kashmiri isolates have also an inverse similarity ( $rp = -.28$ ,  $p < .02$ ) Jammu neglectees and Kashmiri populars have dissimilar profiles ( $rp = -.31$ ,  $p < .02$ ) But Neglectees on the both sides are very near each other on all personality traits ( $rp = +.25$ ,  $P < .02$ ). Again Jammu neglectees and Kashmiri isolates are similar ( $rp = +.27$ ,  $P < .01$ ). A comparison between Jammu isolates and Kashmiri populars show that the two groups possess different personality profiles, ( $rp = -.37$ ,  $P < .01$ ). on the other hand the isolates and neglectees are considerably similar ( $rp = +.34$ ,  $P < .01$ ). Jammu isolates and Kashmir isolates are also similar ( $rp = +.34$ ,  $P < .01$ )



Figure 1

Interculture Profile Comparison:  
( Populars )

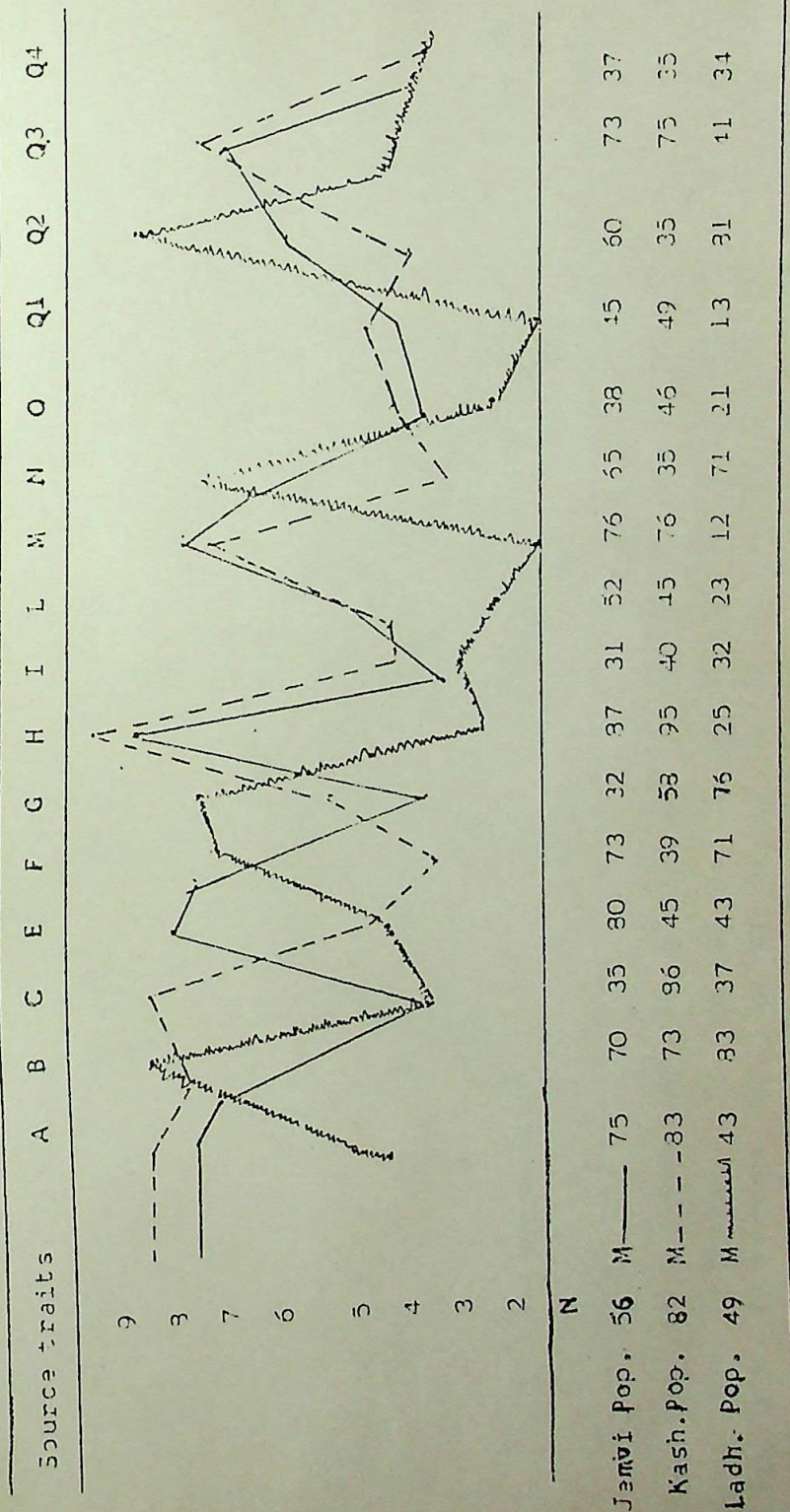
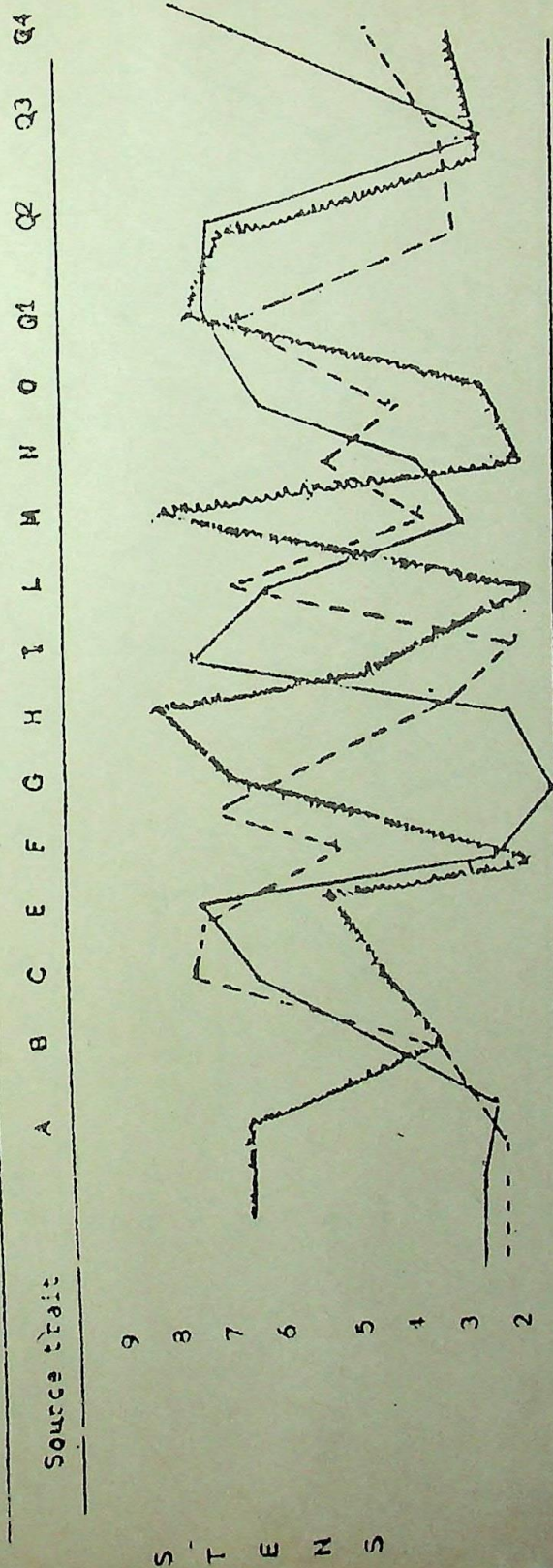








Figure 2.  
Interculture Profile Comparison:  
(Neglecters)



N  
Jamvi Neg. 17 M ——— 29  
Kash. Neg. 29 M ——— 23  
Ladh. Neg. 23 M ——— 62

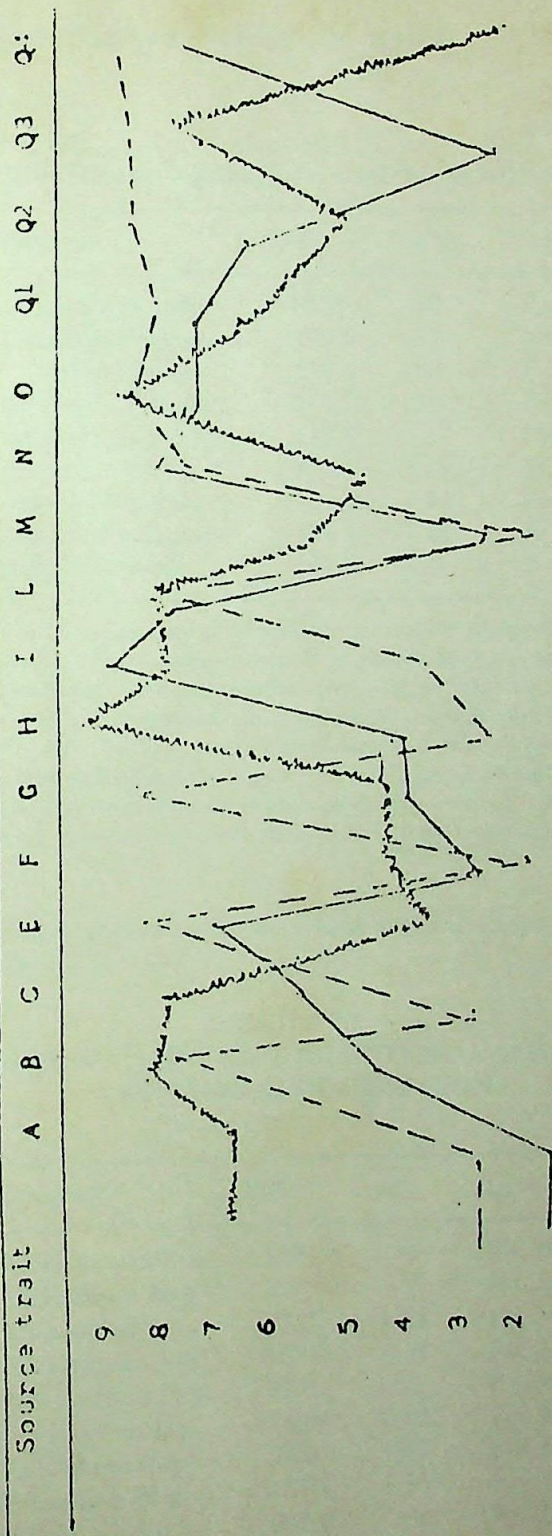






Figure 3

Interculture Profile Comparison:  
(Isolates)



N  
Jamvi Iso. 17 M --- 13  
Kash. Iso. 9 M --- 25  
Ladh. Iso. 18 M --- 63

76  
76  
19

53  
55  
52

72  
75  
62

73  
83  
93

80  
35  
73

43  
23  
91

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
18  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43  
33  
43

25  
18  
32

53  
25  
76

43  
73  
76

65  
83  
32

43







TABLE 3.1  
INTERCULTURE-CONFIGURATIONAL ANALYSIS JAMMU AND LADAKH

Sociometric categories	$\Sigma d^2$	rp	level of significance
Jammu Pop. V. Ladakhi Populars	85.5	-.32	$P < .01$
Jammu Pop .V.Ladakhi Neglectees	169.3	-.13	Not significant
Jammu Pop .V.Ladakhi Isolates	210.3	-.35	$P < .01$
Jammu Neg.V.Laadakhi Populars	219.0	-.34	$P < .01$
Jammu Neg.V.Ladakhi Neglectees	117.8	+.17	Not significant
Jammu Neg.V.Ladakhi Isolates	92.6	+.19	Not significant
Jammu Iso.V.Ladakhi Populars	187.6	+.34	$P < 0.1$
Jammu Iso.V.Ladakhi Neglectees	136.1	+.18	Not significant
Jammu Iso.V.Ladakhi Isolates	191.0	-.57	$P < .01$

In the table 3.1, Jammu and Ladakhi sociometric categories are placed on 16 personality ractors of comparison. It is shown that the popular groups are markedly different from one another ( $rp = -.32, P < .01$ ). There exists no systematic relationship in the personalities of Jammu populars and Ladakhi neglectees ( $rp = -.13, P < .10$ ). The Jammu populars and the Ladakhi isolates have a considerable profile similarity ( $rp = +.34, P < .01$ ). Jammu Neglectees and Ladakhi Neglectees have no more than chance similarity ( $rp = +.17, P < .10$ ). And Jammu Isolates compare inversely with their isolate counter parts in Ladakh ( $rp = -.37, P < .01$ ).

Finally a profile comparison between Kashmiri and Ladakhi subjects can be seen in the table 3.2.

TABLE 3.2  
INTERCULTURAL CONFIGURATIONAL ANALYSIS  
LAKAKH VS KASHMIR REGION.

Sociometric Categories	$\Sigma d^2$	rp	Level of Significance
Ladakhi Pop VS Kashmnir Pop	188.16	-.34	$P < .01$
Ladakhi Pop VS Kashmir Neg	197.10	+.37	$P < .01$
Ladakhi Pop VS Kashmir Iso..	152.7	+.35	$P < .01$
Ladakhi Neg VS Kashmir Pop	152.0	+.17	$P > .10$
Ladakhi Neg VS Kashmir Neg.	91.8	-.32	$P < .01$
Ladakhi Neg VS Kashmir Iso.	148.1	+.15	$P > .10$
Ladakhi Iso VS Kashmir Pop	51.0	+.37	$P < .01$
Ladakh Iso VS Kashmir Neg	151.1	+.15	$P > .10$
Ladakh Iso VS Kashmir Iso	232.0	-.35	$P < .01$



An examination of the table reveals that the populars of both cultures are significantly dissimilar in their personality profiles ( $r_p = -.34, P < .01$ ). Ladakhi populars compare well with Kashmiri neglectees and isolates ( $r_p = +.37, P < .01$ ). Again Ladakhi Neglectees and Kashmiri populars are comparable ( $r_p = +.17, P < .01$ ), but Ladakhi neglectees and Kashmiri neglectees compare only inversely ( $r_p = -.32, P < .01$ ). Ladakhi neglectees and Kashmiri isolates have no more than chance similarity in their profiles. Ladakhi isolates and Kashmiri populars are markedly similar ( $r_p = +.37, P < .01$ ). Ladakhi isolates and Kashmiri neglectees bear no more than chance similarity ( $r_p = +.37, P < .01$ ) And Ladakhi isolates are considerably different from Kashmiri isolates ( $r_p = -.35, P < .01$ )

The statistics on social compatibility and group cohesiveness is given in the table 3.3.

TABLE 3.3  
INTERCULTURE COMPARISON ON SOCIAL  
COMPATIBILITY AND GROUP COHESIVENESS

Culture Region	Social Compatibility	Group Cohesiveness
Jammu	.57	.62
Kashmir	.45	.52
Ladakh	.68	.72

The data reveals that the groups are fairly compatible and cohesive within their own cultural range. A comparison may, however, place Jammu and Ladakh above Kashmir on the both variable (see also figure 4).

Finally a look at the data revealed by the social desirability scale which strengthen the conclusions thus far arrived at table 4.00 presents a correlation matrix worked out the assessments made by 90 judges.

TABLE 4.00  
CORRELATION MATRIX: MEANS ON 16PF FOR SOCIOMETRIC CATEGORIES VS  
MEANS FOR SOCIAL DESIRABILITY ADJECTIVES.

Sociometric Category	Region Sub Cultures		
	Jammu	Kashmir	Ladakh
Popular	+.86	+.73	+.71
Neglectees	-.43	-.62	-.41
Isolates	-.59	-.63	-.59

An examination of the table will show that in all the three subcultures under investigation there exists a meaningful correspondence between the personality characteristics of the sociometric groups and the social desirability estimates of the relevant adjectives.



### Discussion:

An important element of variability to influence the sociometric choice matrix lies in the sociocultural condition in which such choices are made. As the empirical evidences increase the claims of gross similarities (Jacklin: 1975, Oden & Asher: 1977), and others, in sociometric personality profiles shall be accepted with a significant note of introgration.

In this humble study a culture factor has been identified. In finding this factor our assumption had been that each culture according to its philosophy of life, existential situations, type of roles required for fulfilling the primary and the secondary needs, considers certain personality characteristics of higher value than others.

We have seen that the Ladakhi personality emerges as a uniquely patherned entity when considered for popularity or rejection evaluation. The peculiar finding can be understood only in the socio-cultural context of that land. Being an integral part of old Buddhist tradition, the Ladakhies have remained a most conservative culture. The principle of Nirvana has its impact on the total thinking of the people. They appreciate detachment from worldly affairs and freedom from material wealth. The Buddhist restraints and ways of life are markedly obvious in their personalities. They have discouraged any and every effort of their members to mix up with larger groups or crave for modernization. They have always liked and tried to preserve what is old (Cunningham: 1970). They do not allow their children to grow uninhibitive, free or experimenting. They see that the children of theirs follow the rules of the clanes (Bomzai: 1973).

On the other hand, Jammu and Kashmir presents a personality type which compares well with sociometric categorization in terms of personality. The profile similarity is, again, culture rooted. About these two cultural varities it is said that child-rearing practices of these cultural regions give rise to sociobility, interest in others, tolerance, respect for others point of view, unselfishness, objectivity as the salient features of Kashmiri and Jamvi modal personalities (Bomzai: 1973).

A perusal of the findings in the present study will show that Lakakhi judges when asked to rate various personality characteristics on a desirability-undersirability continuum, they evaluated shyness, stubbornness, social detachment, isolation, conservativeness, as the most desirable traits. On the other hand, outgoingness, social boldness and venturesomeness as most undesirable traits. By contrast Jammu and Kashmir evaluaters credit social boldness, warm heartedness and outgoingness as most desirable while coolness, social isolation, subboriness and rigidity as most underirable traits. These results fairly compare with the sociocultural and anthropological d ta on personality (Mead: 1953).



Mead in her works has shown how culture conditions the personality of its members and how individual members attempt to reach the social acceptability standards. Harry Stack Sullivan (1953) has gone a step further, he asserts, "The environment flows through the living cell, becoming its very life in the process, and the cell flows and grows through the environment, establishing in this process its particular career - line in the organism". Even his very definition of personality the totality of the situation is not ignored. He has defined personality as "the relative enduring configuration of life processes characterizing all of a person's total activity pertaining to such other persons, real or fantastic, as become from time to time relevant factors in his total situation".

Cattell in his trait-view theory and 'group-synality' concept has recognized the importance of large scale sociocultural influences on personality. His trait specification equation precisely bears an evidence to this fact, it will not be out of place to mention this equation here. In order to predict a persons' response in a particular group situation in terms of his personality dimensions, an equation can be put as:

$$R = s_1 t_1 + s_2 t_2 + s_3 t_3 + \dots s_n t_n$$

This equation simply states that a given response can be predicted from the traits of person (The Traits  $T$  to  $T_n$ ), each weighted by its relevance in the present situation (the situations from  $S_1$  to  $S_n$ ). In case a particular trait is highly relevant to a given response, the corresponding  $S$  will be large, of the said characteristic is totally not relevant, the  $S$  will be zero, and of the trait inhibits or detracts from the response, the sign of  $S$  will be negative. But the equation on the whole implies that a response will be determined by an additive property of traits with a special reference to the context in which they must appear.

And finally, a regionwise group-cohesiveness and social compatibility assessment further strengthens the idea of a cultural identity both compatible and cohesive. Trait adjectives have a social meaning and sociometric psychologist will fail to achieve universal norms in terms of personality characteristics of his sociometric popularity and rejection of the loses sight of this social meaning. At the end of this discussion we will record a forceful comment by Forgas (1985).

"There are examples of almost any combination of personal characteristics amongst known 'leaders'. Churchill and Stalin, De Gaulle and Hitler, Ghandhi and Mao were all leaders with very different individual personalities. There seems to be no single quality of 'leadership' shared by this small group. Psychologists attempting to identify the critical traits of a leader, fared no better. Despite considerable effort, they failed to isolate a specific list of characteristics which would universally distinguish leaders from non-leaders".



# NOTES AND REFERENCES

- Barret, Paul & (1984)Eysenck, S.: The Assessment of Personality factors accross 25 countries  
*Journal of Personality and Individual Differences*. Vol 5(6) 615-632.
- Bomzai, P. (1960) : *History of Jammu and Kashmir*, Delhi:
- Byrne, Don (1971) : *The Attraction Paradigm*, New York:
- Cattell, R.B. (1970) : *Handbook of Multivaiate Analysis in Experimental Psychology* Chicago:
- Cunningham, R. (1970) : *Ladakh - A Historical Survey*, New York:
- Du Bois, Cora (1944) : *The perople of Alora*, Minncapolis:
- Forgas, Joseph,P (1985) : *Interpersonal Behaviour The Psychology of Social Interaction*, Sydney:
- Gottman J.M.(1977) : Toward a definition of social isolation in children, *Journal of Child Development* 48, 513-517.
- Hassan, M. (1959) : *Kashmir Under Sultsans*, Calcutta :
- Hartup. W.W. (1970) : Peer Interaction and social organisation in Mussen (Ed) *Carmichael's Mannual of Child Psychology*, New York,
- Izard, C.E. (1983) : Emotions in Personality and Culture, *Ethos*, Vol 17(4). 305-312
- Kardiner A. & (1962) : *The Individual and his Society*, New York: Unton R.
- Kirchhoff, L. (1974) : Personality trait comparison between high and low others conceptchildren in Foet, H.C. (1980) *Friendship and Social Relations in Children*, New York:
- Leak, Garg K (1982) : Two social interests Measures and social desirability response sets. Individual Psychology : *Journal of Adlerian Theory, Research and Practice* Vo. 35(1) 42-46.
- Linton, Ralph (1945) : *The cultural Background of personality* New York:
- Maadhosh, A.G (1984) : Sociometric Status and personality a study of interpersonal group situations *Journal of Indian Educational Review*, July, 1984.
- Oden, S. & Asher, S.P. (1977) : Coaching Children in Social Skills for friendship making. *Child Development* 48, 518-524.
- Mead, Margaret (1953) : *National character - in Anthropology today : an Encyclopedic inventory* edited by H.L. Kroeber University of Chicago Press.



- Pryor, R.G. (1983) : The influence of Social Desirability as an response set on the Measurement of the value preferences Related to Work *Australian Psychology* Vol. 18 (3) 359—369
- Ruback, R.B. (1983) : Social influence and Crime - Victims decision making. *Journal of Social Issues* Vol. 40(1)51-76.
- Saborine, E.W. : Regular classroom Sociometric Status and et al (1985) behaviourally disordered Adolescents *Journal of Behavioural Disorders* Vol 10(3), 191-197.
- Siege, Sidney (1956) : *Nonparametric Statistics for teachers and counsellors*. New York: McGraw Hill Book Co.
- Sufi, G.M.D. (1974) : *Kashir- Social, Political and Cultural History of Kashmir*. Vol.I Delhi; reprint.
- Sullivan, H.S. (1953) : *The interpersonal theory of Psychiatry*. New York:



# ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY OF HORTICULTURAL RESOURCES

## Comparison between Jammu & Kashmir & Himachal Pradesh

*\*G.M. Bhat*

*\*\*Ab. Wahid*

A close study of the present position of fruit production in India reveals that (a) the country as a whole is short of fruit to feed the masses in the rational manner (b) the quality of our fruit is not very high and the production per acre is low, and (c) the methods of disposal of fruits are faulty. Consequently the income from fruit cultivation is very low. There is no incentive to extend plantations and this mainly accounts for the backwardness of the Indian fruit industry. Of late, however, considerable improvement in this field is being noticed.

Apple is grown in the temperate regions of the world from time immemorial. World production of apples ranged between 27 and 30 million tonnes in recent years. Though cultivated extensively, the major producing countries are in Europe. In India apple is grown as commercial crop in the hilly areas. Major apple producing states are Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh (Kumaon and Garhwal regions). West Bengal (Darjeeling), Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Tripura, Sikkim in the North-east and Tamil Nadu (Niligiris) in the south also produce small quantities of apple.

Fruit growing has emerged as one of the major industries in recent years in Jammu and Kashmir and in Himachal Pradesh. This has been possible not only due to the large area that is now under fruit crop but also due to the wide market their fruit has come to occupy in the country.

An attempt has been made in this paper to analyse the input and output relations of apple cultivation in Jammu and Kashmir and in Himachal Pradesh.

One of the main objectives of the analysis, is to arrive at some judgment about the efficiency of the prevalent factor proportions in production and hence to suggest changes in these proportions in the optimal direction. An empirical production function enables us to do so because the marginal product of each input estimated from the function can be compared with its acquisition cost.

---

\* Reader, P.G. Deptt. of Economics, University of Kashmir, Srinagar.

\*\* Professor, P.G. Deptt. of Economics, University of Kashmir, Srinagar.



Secondly, to know specific contribution of marginal unit of a particular independent variable to dependent variable by holding all other independent variables at their mean level.

Thirdly, returns to scale are estimated

### Methodology:

The present study was located in the states of Himachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir. It may not be possible to draw inferences from a study by taking state as a unit. But as suggested by Hanumantha Roa, "It would be useful, if the analysis of regional variation in the distribution of gains could be conducted for each state by treating the district as unit of observation, because a district is usually far more homogenous than a state." Keeping this in view a multistage sampling design was used for selection of the ultimate unit of study. Baramulla district of Jammu and Kashmir and Kulu district of Himachal Pradesh were purposely selected. These districts are well known for the apple cultivation in the two. From each district two blocks and from each block four villages were selected at random. At the second stage a separate list of all the apple growers of these villages was prepared along with the information about operational holdings with the help of village Patwari. From each village 7 to 10 households were selected for the collection of primary data. This gave a sample of two blocks, eight villages and sixty eight households in district Baramulla and two blocks, eight villages and sixty two households in Kulu district. The total size of sample was 130 households.

Information was collected from respondents (apple growers) through various methods such as administering the questionnaire, interviews and discussions. A schedule especially designed for collection of cross sectional data was administered to these randomly selected units of population. The field survey was conducted soon after the end of apple season to keep the reliability of the data close to the reasonable standards of accuracy.

### Specification of the Models Adopted:

To examine the allocative efficiency of resources at apple orchards, the Cobb-Douglas production function was adopted. The adoption of this model has also assisted in the estimation of marginal value products and elasticity of production of different factor inputs. The algebraic form of the function used in this analysis is as follows:

$$Y = aX_1^{b_1} X_2^{b_2} X_3^{b_3} X_4^{b_4}$$

In the log form it becomes

$$\log Y = \log a + b_1 \log X_1 + b_2 \log X_2 + b_3 \log X_3 + b_4 \log X_4$$



Where

$Y$  = Monetary income accruing from apple cultivation minus the marketing costs

$X_1$  = Cropped area under apple orchards (acres)

$X_2$  = Human labour, which has been measured in terms of mandays. One manday means eight hours of work. The difference in the efficiency of labour have been taken into account by converting female and child labour days into mandays on the criterion that one and a half adult female and two children labour days are equal to one manday respectively.

$X_3$  = Working expenditure (capital) in rupees. This variable is defined as the sum of value of manures, fertilizers, plant and fruit protection chemicals.

$X_4$  = Fixed capital in rupees and the items which have been considered in the study are rent on leased-in land, rental value of owned land, depreciation and interest on farm buildings, horticultural tools, props and farm machinery in value terms, and annual cost of establishment of orchard.

$a$  is the intercept on the production axis or the constant term in the equation.

$b_1, b_2, b_3, b_4$  are the regression co-efficients or the production elasticities of the respective variables.

#### Estimation of Marginal Value Product:

The MVP of an input factor ( $X_i$ ) is the change in the value of product by a unit change in the value of  $X_i$  and is defined by

$$\text{MVP } (X_i) = b_i \times \frac{\text{G.M. } (Y)}{\text{G.M. } (X_i)}$$

Where G.M. ( $Y$ ) and G.M. ( $X_i$ ) represent the geometric means of output and input, respectively and  $b_i$  is the regression co-efficient of  $i$ th input.

The MVPs were worked out for the various input factors at their geometric mean level while other variables were held constant at their respective geometric means.

#### Results and Discussions:

The regression co-efficients of variables, their standard errors and levels of significance for all farms of Baramulla district and of Kulu district are presented in Table No. 1 and Table No. 2 respectively. The estimated coefficients of the independent variables are the production elasticities of the respective factors. The percentage change in the product is shown by the co-efficients if the input of a factor of production is increased by one percent at their geometric mean



level, while other factors are kept constant. The four input variables considered in the production function analysis explain 92 percent of the variation in net returns in case of Baramulla district and 97 percent in case of Kulu district. The F-values of the coefficient of determination (R) turn out to be highly significant.

TABLE NO. 1.  
PRODUCTION ELASTICITIES WITH STANDARD ERRORS AND LEVEL  
OF SIGNIFICANCE IN BARAMULLA DISTRICT

Variables	Regression co-efficient (bi)	Standard Errors of (bi)	F' Value	't' Value
X1	0.3262**	0.1822	3.2700	1.7908
X2	0.2582***	0.16405	2.417	1.5704
X3	0.6780*	0.1800	14.1877	3.7666
X4	0.1192 N.S.	0.1367	0.394	0.6276
n = 68	R <sup>2</sup> = 0.92353	S.E. = 0.3079	F = 190.22089	$\sum bi = 1.3796$
*	Significant at 1%			
**	Significant at 5%			
***	Significant at 10%			
N.S.	Not significant			

The elasticity for each variable in both the districts has been less than unity, indicating thereby operation of diminishing returns. This means that if other inputs are fixed at certain level and only one input is increased, the returns will increase at diminishing rate.

TABLE NO. 2  
PRODUCTION ELASTICITIES WITH STANDARD ERRORS AND LEVEL  
OF SIGNIFICANCE IN KULU DISTRICT.

Variables	Regression co-efficient (bi)	Standard Error of (bi)	F-Value	't' Value
X1	0.3582**	0.22737	2.4819	1.5754
X2	0.3877*	0.103445	14.0466	3.7478
X3	0.1885*	0.06845	7.581	2.75400
X4	0.3445*	0.07570	20.7103	4.5509
n=62	R <sup>2</sup> = 0.96	S.E. = 0.194	F = 452.09592	$\sum bi = 1.2789$
*	Significant at 1%			
**	Significant at 5%			



The regression co-efficients for Baramulla district turn out to be significant in case of working capital, land and labour. But for Kulu district all the variables turn out to be significant in order of labour, fixed capital working capital and land. Non-significance of fixed capital (modern machinery) in Baramulla district points to the fact that it has yet to make its impact on the farm economy of the district.

It can be seen that land has due importance in the process of production. The regression co-efficients of land are 0.3262 and 0.3582 for Baramulla district and Kulu district respectively which are significant at 5% and 10% respectively. It means that by increasing land inputs by 1 percent, holding all other inputs constant at their geometric mean level, the returns increase by 0.3262 and 0.3582 percent respectively. The production elasticity of labour in Kulu district is higher (0.3877) than in Baramulla district (0.2582). The production elasticities are significant at 1 percent and 10 percent respectively. The elasticities of working capital are 0.6780 and 0.1885 for Baramulla and Kulu district respectively which are significant at 1 percent level. The production elasticity of fixed capital (0.3445) in case of Kulu district is significant at 1 percent level but it is not significant (0.1172) in case of Baramulla district.

The problem of multicollinearity in such models is suspected to tell upon the explanatory ability of the independent variables. The zero-order correlation matrices were, therefore, found for all explanatory variables to test the existence of multicollinearity. The problem of multicollinearity does seem to exist in some cases as shown in Table No. 3 and Table No. 4 but it is believed that multicollinearity co-efficients less than co-efficient of multiple correlation do not infringe upon the explanatory character of the independent variables in agricultural production functions and hence do not obstruct their use in further analysis\*.

TABLE NO. 3

## ZERO-ORDER CORRELATION MATRIX FOR BARAMULLA DISTRICT

	X1	X2	X3	X4
X1	1.00	0.83	0.96	0.79
X2		1.00	0.80	0.69
X3			1.00	0.96
X4				1.00

TABLE NO. 4

## ZERO-ORDER CORRELATION MATRIX FOR KULU DISTRICT

	X1	X2	X3	X4
X1	1.00	0.84	0.91	0.89
X2		1.00	0.82	0.86
X3			1.00	0.62
X4				1.00



It can be seen from Table No.5 and 6 that in case of Kulu district, except for working capital the mean levels of all other inputs are higher than those of Baramulla district. Mean level of human labour is comparatively far higher in Kulu district than in Baramulla district. This may be due to the fact that the location of fruit orchards in Kulu district is such that it needs more labour force for operational purposes. Secondly, labour is cheaper in Kulu valley and so they may be using much of this input. In Baramulla district plant and fruit protection chemicals are extensively used as compared to Kulu fruit growers. This is due to the fact that recently Kashmir apple has proved to be more exposed to apple scab and other diseases and secondly

TABLE NO 5  
REGRESSION CO-EFFICIENT, GEOMETRIC MEANS, MARGINAL VALUE  
PRODUCTS, FACTOR COSTS AND RATIO OF MVP TO M.C. IN  
BARAMULLA DISTRICT

Variable	Regression coefficients	Geometric Mean	Marginal Value Product	Factor Cost	Ratio of M.V.P. to M.C
X1	0.33	4.0131	1363.95	850.0	1.604
X2	0.26	472.8309	9.23	11.0	0.82
X3	0.68	4735.10	2.41	1.0	2.41
X4	0.12	2929.157	1.20	1.0	1.20

the growers of Baramulla district are using artificial fertilizers more extensively as compared to their counterparts in Kulu district. In Kulu district the ratio of farm yard manure to artificial fertilizer is very high as it is not easy to irrigate the orchards by artificial means.

TABLE NO. 6  
REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS, GEOMETRIC MEANS, MARGINAL  
VALUE PRODUCTS, FACTOR COSTS AND RATIO OF MVP TO M.C.  
IN KULU DISTRICT

Variable	Regression coefficients (bi)	Geometric Mean	Marginal Value Product	Factor Cost	Ratio of M.V.P. to M.C
X1	0.36	4.5801	1810.75	975.0	1.86
X2	0.39	639.35	14.05	9.0	1.56
X3	0.19	4059.7669	1.08	1.0	1.08
X4	0.34	3218.32	2.43	1.0	1.43



The returns to scale have been determined by summing up the production elasticity and it has been found that sum of production elasticities for Baramulla and Kulu district are 1.3796 and 1.2789 respectively. The sum of elasticities in both the districts are more than unity. It is, therefore, concluded that increasing returns to scale operate in both the districts.

#### **Marginal Value Products:-**

The marginal value products indicate the returns in money terms, anticipated by the addition of one more unit of the particular resource input over and above the mean level while retaining the level of other inputs unchanged, or fall in the production by the withdrawal of one unit of the particular resource input at the mean level while retaining the level of other inputs unchanged.

It is evident from the Table No.5 that in case of Baramulla district MVP X1, MPV X3 and MPV X4 are higher than their PX's whereas MVP X2 is lower than PX2. For an efficient combination of them certain units of X2 will have to be withdrawn at the existing level until the  $MVPX = PX2$ . In case of Kulu district (Table No. 6 ) all the MVPX's turn out to be higher than their PX's.

MVP of land, in Kulu district is far higher than in Baramulla district. Same is the case with labour input and fixed capital. But the MVP of working capital is higher in Baramulla district than in Kulu district.

#### **Conclusions:-**

From the fore-going discussions following inferences may be drawn:-

1. As the MVP of land in Kulu district is more than rent, it suggests that the land-use market is imperfect and or land is relatively under applied.
- 2) Plant and fruit protection material is extensively used in Baramulla district as compared to Kulu district. The MVP of working capital in both cases is higher than the rupee expenditure on it. Therefore, there is considerable scope for stepping up the use of plant and fruit protection materials as well as nutrients. As the MVP of fixed capital is also high as compared to rupee expenditure on it, we may also infer that the scope for increasing the use of modern inputs is considerable in both the districts.
- 3) MVP analysis shows that there exists surplus labour in Baramulla district. So, in order to obtain pareto-optimality in returns there must be some reconciliation of various inputs. Therefore, certain units of labour will have to be withdrawn at the existing level of expenditure.



## REFERENCES

- Heady, and Dhillon : "Resource Productivity, Returns to Scale and Farm Size". The Iowa State College. pp.3
- Bhat, G.M. & Dhar M.K : "Resource-Use Efficiency of Apple Cultivation in J&K State". *Indian Journal of Economics* V 79 No. 272, July 1988.
- George, M.V. and Joseph, P.T. : "Cost-Benefit Analysis of Investment in Tree Crops". *Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics*, V 28, No. 4, 1973
- Khan, W and Tripathy, R.N. : *Intensive Agriculture and Modern Inputs*. National Institute of Community Development Hyderabad, 1972.
- Mehta, P. and Kahlon, A.S. : *Input-Output Relationship in Apple Industry*, Punjab Horticulture, 1966.
- Peter, D. Input and Output Relations of Banana Plantation in Kanya-Kumari District (Tamil Nadu). "*Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics*". V 29, No. 2, 1974.
- Raj Krishna : Some Production Functions for the Punjab, *Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics*, V 19, No. 3 & 4), 1964.



## RE - EXAMINATION OF THE GLAZED TILES AT THE TOMB OF MADIN SAHIB IN SRINAGAR.

*\*AIJAZ A. BANDEY*

The innovation of the manufacture of glazed tiles<sup>1</sup> in the late 12th century A.D. made it possible to face buildings with such tiles. Monuments, both mosques and mausoleums, were richly adorned with the beautiful tiles, both out-doors and in-doors, in Persia, in southern Central Asia and in the Indian sub-continent till the end of the 17th century A.D. One such instance was found in Srinagar. Here these colourful tiles, in red, blue, yellow, green and brown, with floral and animate motifs, adorned the porch archway which leads to the tomb of Sayid Mohammad-Al-Madani. There are two different views regarding their date of manufacture and subsequent use at Madin Sahib, whereas Nicholls believes them to be of the 15th century<sup>2</sup>, Marshall on the other hand dates these tiles as late as the 17th century<sup>3</sup>. In the light of this academic disagreement, this paper intends to determine on the basis of technique and style of production of the tiles, and on some of the art features present on the tiles, the date when these tiles were actually manufactured and subsequently utilized at Madin Sahib.

We may begin with an archaeological observation whereunder one finds that adjacent to the mosque and cemetery of Sayid Mohammad is an imposing archway. Both these structures are different from each other in terms of the design of the construction and material used. The archway is built in bricks, the mosque as well as the cemetery wall, on the contrary, are in stone-masonry. Since the mosque was built in the first half of the 15th century<sup>4</sup>, Nicholls—the leading scholar who has worked on the Muslim architecture, as such mistakenly subscribed the whole cemetery including the archway to the same period. He even wrongly believed that the glazed tiles facing the archway<sup>5</sup> belong to the 15th century, for he considered these technically different from the tiles of Mughal India. To qualify his statement, Nicholls does not, however, give any description either of Madin Sahib or the Mughal Indian tiles and thus fails to specify those groups of tiles from each other<sup>6</sup>.

What Nicholls came across at Madin Sahib was a square-type tile, which though actually belonged to the 17th century was believed by him to be of the 15th century. During these two different centuries the glazed tile production had

---

\* Lecturer/Curator, Centre of Central Asian Studies, University of Kashmir, Srinagar



a distinct mode of technique. Before the 17th century, tessellated-class tile generally featured the Muslim architecture not only in Iran and Central Asia but also in the Indian sub-continent as well<sup>7</sup>. On the other hand square-type got induced in the glazed tile production in the early 17th century<sup>8</sup>. It was indeed during the reign of Shah Jahan that not only the archway as a supplement to the tomb of Sayid Mohammad was raised on the ground at Madin Sahib but the colourful tiles were also manufactured and subsequently utilised for the beautification of the porch archway—a new dimension introduced in the history of Kashmir architecture for the first time. The contention of Nicholls that Madin Sahib glazed tiles belonged to the 15th century as such appears to be misconceived. Because not only in their designing and production technique but even in their colouring too, the Srinagar tiles have vastest of similarities with the 17th century tiles of the Mughal India.

Like the many other 17th century square-type tiles, the Madin Sahib tiles too are divided into a certain number of large, but uniform sized squares which were put together to form the desired design and complete motif. Accordingly each square tile had many leaves, flowers, a part of inscription with a blank background or a piece of decoration on a background in each unit—a situation that was unknown in the history of the Muslim architecture of the Indian sub-continent as was in Persia and Central Asia, where then the tessellated tiles were being produced and utilized. The tessellated tiles were mosaics, in which case each part of decoration, say a petal of flower, a leaf, a letter of an inscription, was represented by a single piece of a tile that could take any shape as per the design on it and wherein tiny pieces were assembled together on a separate background to form a complete design or inscription. Hence in this case every tile supplemented the other and was not independently a complete leaf or flower or any part as in the case of a square-type tile.

In addition to the above technical evidence, the 17th century date for the Srinagar tile is evenly borne by the depiction of animate motifs therein. Though the representation of animates was initially started in the Mughal miniature painting, yet this element got introduced in their history of the 16th century architecture to the extent of depiction of animals and birds<sup>9</sup>. Thencefrom, in the 17th century human representation too became eminent in their architecture for the first time<sup>10</sup>. Since the porch archway at Madin Sahib was built exactly during the reign of Shah Jahan, the tile decoration accordingly represented the figures of animals and humans on the analogy of Lahore Fort.

Again the relationship of the Srinagar tiles with the 17th century Mughal period is reinforced by the style of the depiction of cloud-forms thereon. As this depiction was the integral part of the design produced the cloud-forms occupy the empty upper space of the panels. This fundamental feature of Chinese art, particularly in painting reached Persia as a result of the Mongol influence after



the invasion of Samarquand by Ganghis Khan. Mughal artist, inspired by Persian excellence, copied it on the miniature particularly during and after the reign of Jehangir and soon carved or painted cloud-forms became part of their architectural decorations<sup>11</sup>. This element of cloud-form was thus subsequently carried to Kashmir by the Mughal artist and depicted for the first time on the tile work.

From the above, it is evident that the Madin Sahib tiles on the archway had all kind of similarity with the 17th century Mughal art and architecture. The contention of Nicholls therefore is to be viewed in this very context.

### NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The activity of potters for the production of ceramics had continued without interruption from earliest times in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Greece, India etc, but it underwent a great development, particularly in Rayy and Kashan, Persia at the end of the 11th century. The new technique devised allowed in the beginning the use of colours in two stages. First the most resistant to fire were laid on under the glaze, then after the first firing other colours were laid on over the glaze and again the object baked but now on moderate temperature. Subsequently later on, this procedure was abandoned and all the colours were painted over the glaze before the second firing (See Alexander Papadopoulos, *Islam and Muslim Art*, New York, 1979, pp 186-187). This technological development was responsible for the production of multicoloured tiles, called *hastrangi*, even though the earliest specimens or monochromatic but *hastrangi* later on was preferred.
2. Nicholls, W.H., Mohammadan Architecture in Kashmir, *Annual Report of Archaeological Survey*, 1906-1907, pp 162-164.
3. Marshall, John., *Annual Report of Archaeological Survey*, 1906-1907, p 42.
4. Sayid Mohammad-Al-Madani who came to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Sikander (1398-1414 A.D.) died during the reign of Sultan Zainul-Abidin (1420-1470). As a token of reverence Zainul-Abidin built a small mosque at Madin Sahib, for the Sayid, mostly in stone masonry, collected from a pre-Islamic structure. An inscription in arabic on the lintel above the door records its date (844 A.H./1444 A.D). To the south of the mosque, the tomb of the Sayid Mohammad remains enclosed on three sides in a stone masonry wall, while the south wall of the mosque itself encloses it on its north side. A carved wooden door is fitted in the centre of the east wall which also has three beautiful carved stone screens on either side of it. Supported on two fluted columns, erected adjacent to the door is a small cupola like structure to provide shaded cover in front of the door, in an open rectangular porch like formation. An imposing archway in brick masonry erected in front of this leads to the tomb which has no coherence and harmony with the stone structure, even the two structure have a marked distinction.
5. The facade of the gateway was having glazed tile work on the inner face, probably on all the three faces, as the sunken impressions of the tiles near the inner arch were seen till 1993, when the whole archway was got plastered by the State Archaeology Department. Till then at some places some of the tiles still adhered to the walls; even though some of these were put in wrong places by some unknown renovators in the past for reviving its glory. Presently on a few square yellow tiles a black inscription in Persian remains. It is not complete and only the prefix and suffix remain



on the north and south walls. Above it a part of calligraphed inscription in Persian, now faint, remains on the north wall at one place. Another line of such calligraphed inscription, was there above these two lines of inscriptions, again directly on the wall, a part of it mentioned that the archway was built during the rule of Shah Jahan (see Marshall, op.cit.)

هزارشکر که دروازه بنا شد خوش  
بمهد شاه جهان زینت ملک و سپاه

This line we have lost now as a result of plastering in 1993. However, a good number of these tiles remain in various museums. It was Nicholls who saw many of these adhering to the walls having flowers, arabesque and animals with an unusual subject matter spread over many tiles in the left half of the spandrel of the central arch in the east facade. "This was a representation of a beast with a body of a leopard, changing at the neck into the trunk of human body, shooting apparently with a bow and arrow at its tail which ends in a kind of dragon's head..... the chest, shoulders and head of the human being are unfortunately missing". (Nicholls, op.cit.). In 1983, State Archaeology Department, while renovating the roofing of the mosque, cleared the debris around the archway and collected more than hundred fragments of glazed tiles. Amongst these, besides head with a part of neck of stag, hind portion with two legs of an animal (stag?), have on nine fragments of two incomplete tiles representation of a portion of human head, supporting a headdress (turban) a part of forearm with hand and part of bow and arrow. (No other human heads were found as reported by S.L.Shahi in *History and Archeology of Kashmir*, Delhi 1992). This head is facing to his right and therefore points towards the fact that the spandrel on the right side had also same type of figure as on the left. Adjusting suitably these right hand side pieces on the figure published by Nicholls pl.LVII, one can have full picture of this unusual theme.

It is rather difficult, as was the case with Nicholls, to trace the origin of this figure, but one finds it more like the zodiac figure of Sagittarius. Whether Sayid Mohammad had anything to do with this zodiac symbol cannot be ascertained at present, it however, cannot be denied that Muslims produced great astronomers like Al-Burni, Ibn-i-Sina, and that group of learned men who compiled *Rasail* of the *Ikhwan-al-Safa*. There was a school of astronomy established at Pari-Mahal in Srinagar during the reign of Shah Jahan and it is to be seen if the zodiac figure here appeared because of this establishment.

6. Even though Nicholls mentions the qualifications of the tessellated class of tiles that were produced in Muughal India and has also noticed the square class tiles of Multan, he however does not relate the Srinagar tiles with any of the 17th century square class Mughal tiles nor does mention the technical feature of the square class of tiles.
7. The glazed decoration of this early period is seen on the inscriptions at Jamia Masjid Damaghan, 1106 A.D; the mosque at Simmer, Isfahan 1131-51 A.D; the turquoise-blue glaze on the tomb of *Gumband-di-Surkh* 1147 A.D. at Maragha Azerbaijan (Godard, A., *The Art Of Iran*, London, 1965, pp 299-303). The finest examples are seen on the tomb of *Uljayu Khuda Banda* at Sultaniya, 1304 A.D; the Blue mosque at Tabriz, 1465 A.D; the Gaur-i-Amir 1404 A.D. at Samarquand (J.Hawkes, *Splenders Of The East*, ed.M.Wheeler, pp 630-61); Masjid-i-Jami, Herat and mausoleum-mosque of Abu-Nasr Parsa built at the end of the 15th century; Masjid-i-Jami in Isfahan with the 15th century tiles (Alexander Papadopoulos, op.cit., pl 151-161).

In the sub-continent, the tomb of Yousuf Gardhizi of 1150 A.D, Shadna Shahid, Shamus-ud-Din Tabrizi and Bahul Haq all built between 1260-80 A.D. (J.Burton Page, *Splendours Of The East*, p 75) as well as tomb of Rukunddin, first half of the 14th century have best specimens of tessellated tiles at Multan. In Sind many edifices from Samma dynasty 1351 to the end of Talpurs 1843 A.D. like the old Dagbir mosque 1509 A.D, the tomb on the Makle Hill, 1550-1600 A.D., the tomb of Mirza Jami Beg 1600 A.D., the Shah Jahan Mosque at Thatta, 1644-47 A.D, have this type of tile



work. In and around Delhi, the mosque at Rapri of the reign of Alla-ud-Din Khilji 1296-1316 A.D., (*Archaeological Report*, 1871-72, vol IV, pp 219-20); tomb of Sikander Lodhi, 1517 A.D; tomb of Khawja Khazir, 1524, A.D. at Sonapat (J.Ph. Vogel, *Tile Mosaics of the Lahore Fort*, *Archaeological Report*, vol XLI, Calcutta 1920, p 7); the tomb of Mulana Jarnali, 1529 at Qutab; the tomb of Sher Shah Suri 1545 A.D., at Sasaram; the Khariul Manzil mosque 1562 A.D. near Purana Qila Delhi; the tomb of Shamus-ud-Din Atagah Khan, 1567 A.D., near Nizam-ud-Din Delhi; Nilchatri 1566 A.D; Arab Sarai, 1561 A.D; the Sabz Poosh near Nizam-ud-Din (*Archaeological Report*, Vol XVIII, part II, 1896, p 26) have all beautiful tiles in tesellated style. Likewise at Agra, buildings like Jodha-bai palace at Fatehpur Sikri, the Jehangiri Mahal at Agra Fort, the tomb of Akbar at Sikandra, have multicoloured tesellated tiles. The other principle city of Mughals, Lahore, had a large number of mosques and buildings faced with the mosaic tiles, like the tomb of Sheikh Musa Ahanger believed to had been built during the reign of Akbar, the Sabz Gumbaz, the Wazir Khan Mosque of 1634 A.D, the tomb of Jehangir, 1627 A.D., the mosque of Dai Anaga, 1635 A.D, the Chauburji Gate, and many others have been magnificiently decorated with the tile mosaics.

8. It was during the rule of Shah Abbas I (1587-1628 A.D) in Persia that the square type was innovated and produced. The Masjid-i-Shah 1616 A.D, and the mosque of Sheikh Lutfullah, 1619 A.D., at Isfahan started the trend of square type tiles (Alexander Papadopoulos, op.cit.). We find a very good example of it in Shah Jahan or Jamia Masjid at Thatta (1644-47 A.D). It has a combination of both tessellated and square type tiles. The interior of dome has mosaic revetments while the spandrels of the main archs are reveted with square-type. A combination of square and tessellated tile work, even though not in true sense, is also found at Lahore Fort executed at the end of the reign of Jehangir and early years of Shah Jahan. The main scenes are in mosaic style while the background in square class with or without the motifs. (J.ph.Vogel, op.cit., puts these in the square class). Almost a true square class appears for the first time in the 1641 A.D. tomb of Asif Khan at Shahdra, Lahore where square or rectangular tiles are arranged in slightly sunk panels, (Sajad Hyder *Tile Work In Pakistan*, Pakistan). Thus for the first time in the sub-continent we confront with the square class, which later on becomes a popular style in Sind, Multan and Lahore.
9. The representation of living beings in the Muslim art was known from the beginning because of the Byzantine influence. Even though animates were not represented after the influence of the Traditionalists for some time, yet it restarted during the later years of Abbasids (750-1258 A.D). Persians excelled in it. As India had the tradition of animate depiction in the pre-Islamic period, but Mughals initiated it in the Muslim art, as such fine examples of animates like birds and animals at Fatehpur Sikri, Agra executed during the reign of Akbar. Jehangir, who provided whole-hearted patronage to miniature painting particularly, was responsible for making these animates as if live in their environs. Even it is said such animates adorned his many palaces on the mural walls (Ernst Kuhnle and Herman Goetz, *Indian Book Painting*, London, 1927, pp 63-64 quote it on the authority of traveller Guerreiro). The tomb at Sikandra, likewise depict such pictures.
10. The tomb of I'timad-ud-Daulah, built in 1622 A.D., on the command of Jehangir's wife, has in the Mughal tradition the depiction of animate figures in the form of peacocks, fish, rats, dogs, lions, etc, but for the first time in the history of Mughal architecture, human figure appears in the painted panels. (R.Nath, *Colour Decoration In Mughal Architecture*, Bombay, 1970). A better representation of human figures, alongwith animals like horses and elephants is seen on the tile panels of Lahore Fort; as such derived directly from the miniature art of the Mughal period, if not directly from the *Sher-Dor Madrasa*, or *Chehl Sitan* palace of Isfahan of the 17th century (Alexander Papadopoulos, op.cit., pl 460-462).
11. These are called *Tchi* in Chinese and *Kilin* in Persian. When Mongols conquered Samarquand in 1220 A.D., Tabriz, the capital was flocked by the Mongol artists from all over the empire; and therefore Chinese influence is particularly visible on the Persian painting. The Mughal miniature



in India, the basic inspiration being Persian painting, developed into a school because of fusion of Persian and Indian art tradition in the 16th century. During the reign of Jehangir the cloud form was used on a large scale on the miniature painting, some time on the background, sometime as part of landscape and sometime to fill in the blank space. There are many incidences which suggest that there was a vital link between the artist of Mughal painter and builder of their structures, as such the representation of the miniature scenes on Lahore Fort. The cloud form, likewise is found carved on red-sand stone dados of Fatehpur Sikri in the Sultan's palace, on the upper centotoph of Akbar, at his tomb at Sikandra. These are used on a large scale at the tomb of I'timad-ud-Daulah, some very delicate and small like butterflies, while others are bold and large like dragons.



## DESCRIPTION OF HOONZA - NAGAR IN SOME OF THE LITERARY ACCOUNTS OF THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

*\* Dr.M.A.Kaw*

The Gilgit valley stretches over an area bordering on the mountains of Hindukush on the one hand and Pamirs on the other<sup>1</sup>. Being of strategic importance, the entire valley was engulfed by a succession of military skirmishes sponsored by Russia, China and England during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries<sup>2</sup>. Corresponding to this, Astor, Punial, Yasin, Chitral, Boonji, Gor, Darel, Tangir, Hoonza, Nagar and similar other independent territories, constituting the Gilgit valley, were amalgamated with or transformed into their dependencies by the major imperialist powers during one or the other period of their history<sup>3</sup>.

The states of Hoonza and Nagar, which occupy the upper portion of the Gilgit valley<sup>4</sup>, comprises all the ravines draining into the higher end of the Hoonza-Nagar river<sup>5</sup>. It is in fact along with the left and right banks of this river that both Hoonza and Nagar valleys are respectively located<sup>6</sup>. At the same time, both these valleys are surrounded by a gigantic mountain system including even some of the highest snowy peaks in the Himalayas and mount Rakapashi<sup>7</sup>, wherefrom immense glaciers descended into the two valleys. Hoonza Nagar river in itself is the offshot of the vastest of known glaciers<sup>8</sup>. Nonetheless, in Hoonza valley, one finds rough mountainous ground surrounded by precipices of rock with hardly any trees<sup>9</sup>. The valley being broad and running east and west is exposed to the sun rays for the greater part of the day<sup>10</sup> and though it is situated 8,400 feet high above the sea-level<sup>11</sup>, still the atmosphere is warmer here<sup>12</sup>. This does not however, inhibit the fall of snow sometimes as high as nine feet<sup>13</sup>. Whereas, June, July and August remain comparatively the mild months, for the rest of the months, there is incessant wind and cold<sup>14</sup>. Contrary to the Hoonza valley, Nagar is like a green oasis with vast stretches of rugged and desolate rocks all around<sup>15</sup>. Nevertheless, the heat is remarkably oppressive here too<sup>16</sup>.

Since these two rival nations occupied the opposite sides of a torrent in the Kanjut Valley<sup>17</sup>, its people were as such generally known to their neighbours by the name of the Kanjutis<sup>18</sup>. For centuries together, the Kanjutis plundered the

---

\* Reader, Centre of Central Asian Studies, University of Kashmir, Srinagar



people between Afghanistan and Yarkand<sup>19</sup>. They ventured frequent raids across the Hindukash<sup>20</sup>. Their rulers as such, earned greater portion of their revenue by this source<sup>21</sup>. The trade route between Leh and Yarkand was particularly pillaged in the neighbourhood of Shahidullah<sup>22</sup>. So invincible at times were these Kanjutis that even the strong rulers of Kashmir and China could not put a stop to their raids<sup>23</sup>. During the course of their wholesale brigandage, they captured, besides all else, men, women and children whom they later on disposed of either to the slave-owners of Chinese Turkistan or more likely to the Kirghiz dealers, who served as middleman in this trade<sup>24</sup>.

These slaves often included the Balti subjects of the Maharaja of Kashmir<sup>25</sup> and also the outlying garrisons of Kashmir sepoy<sup>26</sup>. In Hoonza particularly, slaves were kept and dealt in<sup>27</sup>. The Raja's family was the chief-dealer which used to sell slaves to Badakshan merchants<sup>28</sup>. However, in Nagar, we are told that "neither is there now nor was there of old either slavery or slave trade<sup>29</sup>".

Both these states became the tributaries of Maharaja of Kashmir in the sixtees of the nineteenth century<sup>30</sup>. Since then, their rulers paid annual tribute in lieu of a substantial yearly subsidy<sup>31</sup>. Whereas, the annual tribute payable by the ruler of Hoonza included two horses, two hounds and twenty ounces of gold-dust<sup>32</sup>, that of the Nagar state contained twenty one *tolas* of gold and two baskets of apricots<sup>33</sup>. Though these little principalities acknowledged the suzerainty of Kashmir state, yet for all practical purposes they were fairly independent<sup>34</sup> and their rulers functioned as absolute monarchs in their respective domains<sup>35</sup>. They murdered their subjects out of wantonness; sold them into slavery and stole their wives and daughters, as and when liked<sup>36</sup>.

As a matter of right, these ruffian rulers dragged their people from their houses and forcibly employed them to fight against the neighbouring states<sup>37</sup>. The despotic behaviour of these rulers was equally imminent in their terrible acts of punishment<sup>38</sup>. They condemned their subjects into the icy water of those *Kuls* as were drawn from glaciers. It depended upon the period of immersion ordered whether the condemned person was to survive or not<sup>39</sup>. In this way, both the rulers acted unbridled in the matters concerning their subjects<sup>40</sup> and this very behaviour was probably the outcome of the belief whereunder they considered themselves as the reflection of God on earth<sup>41</sup>. Added especially to this, the ruler of Hoonza particularly boasted of being the descendent of Alexander the Great regardless of the fact that he alongwith his counterpart actually descended from two brothers who lived in the fifteenth century<sup>42</sup>.

Thus their behavioural outlook vis-a-vis their subjects and their independent status did not undergo any drastic change even after their states became the tributaries of Kashmir kingdom. Contrarily, the Maharaja of Kashmir, by virtue of the 1935 agreement, renounced all his claims to interfere



in the internal affairs of the little principality of Hoonza and as token of honour, withdrew his *Vizier* from their<sup>43</sup>. It is worth noting that the *Mir* of Hoonza himself commanded allegiance from the *Mir* of the neighbouring territory *Sarikol* in terms of annual tribute of felt and wool<sup>44</sup>. He had also acquired the grazing rights in *Sarikol* as a mark of reward for the help the Hoonza state had offered against the brigands who ravaged the land of *Sarikol*<sup>45</sup>. Nevertheless, the *Mir* of Hoonza was inclined to retain friendly relations with the neighbouring countries which is exemplified by the fact that he used to send presents of some gold to the authorities at Kashghar so that the Chinese could affirm without lifting an eyebrow that Hoonza belonged to him<sup>46</sup>. As a matter of fact, the rulers of both the Kanjut valleys were amicably disposed towards China for they considered "China as the greatest empire in the world and Russia the second, poor British empire coming far behind either<sup>47</sup>". Consequently the ruler of Hoonza enjoyed a *Jagir* (a landed estate) in Yarkand—a recognition of the assistance that his state had offered to China during an insurrection in Turkistan in 1847 A.D.<sup>48</sup>. Since then, Chinese authorities even abstained from objecting at the slave-hunting and caravan-raiding by the Hoonzas<sup>49</sup>. The former also allowed the ruler of the Hoonza to levy toll on the Kirghiz shepherds of the Tagdambash Pamir besides paid him annual subsidy as a sign of reward<sup>50</sup>.

While bitterly hostile to British designs, the rulers of both the lands were well-disposed to Russia as well<sup>51</sup>—a reality frankly admitted and admired by the Russian officials who visited the region in and around the year 1890 A.D.<sup>52</sup>. In this backdrop, the relations of the English with the states of Hoonza and Nagar remained strained for the most part of the nineteenth century. The historical agreement of 1889 A.D, however, improved them only in as much as the chiefs of the two states undertook to allow the British officers to transverse through their territories as and when necessary<sup>53</sup>. At the same time, they undertook to hold themselves back from any further pillage of the caravans travelling along with the Yarkand road<sup>54</sup>. The agreement soon broke down in the face of larger subsidy asked for by the Hoonza ruler in lieu of his acceded guarantees<sup>55</sup> with this, British post was disallowed to be carried through his territories to Captain Younghusband then on Pamirs<sup>56</sup>. Corollary to this defiant attitude, war broke out in 1890-91 in which first the Nagaris and then the Hoonzas were finally subdued by the British troops<sup>57</sup>. The future control of these states was, however, left into the hands of the locals with the difference that instead of the existing *Thums*<sup>58</sup>, new local chiefs were reinstated on the throne provided that they remained faithful to paramount British Indian Government and refrained from slave-dealing and brigandage<sup>59</sup>. Thenceforth, the two Rajas warmly appreciated the presence of every Englishman on their soil. To quote Ellak Maillart, "They are sincerely glad of our presence in these mountains and they have more than one reason for being loyal. We have given them two precious things; money and— by putting an end to their guerilla wars—peace<sup>60</sup>". More important, besides presenting them with such



gifts as included soft skins of lynx, mountain leopard, embroidered caps and *chogha*, (the local cloak) horses, and Khotan silk fabrics<sup>61</sup>, the two Rajas served the Englishmen with delicious meals and that too in the English fashion<sup>62</sup> and entertained them with the performance of the sword dance and the game of polo in which, besides the respective Maharajas, and their Wazirs, the English as guests, too happily participated<sup>63</sup>. Thus by virtue of their positive attitude, the political agencies of Hoonza-Nagar still remained independent and their defence forces consisted entirely of native scouts recruited from a total population of 14,000 Hoonza tribesmen<sup>64</sup> as against a population of 15,000 mountaineers inhabiting other side of the valley called Nagar<sup>65</sup>. An idea about the total population of these two states can be had from the census reports<sup>66</sup> reproduced herein the given table for oversimplification.

Name of the State	Census Report pertaining to the Year	No. of Males	No. of Females	Total Population
Hoonza	1911	5457	4669	10,126
Nagar	-do-	7148	6199	13,347
Hoonza	1921	6473	5644	12,117
Nagar	-do-	7704	6484	14,188
Honza	1931	6965	6276	13,241
Nagar	-do-	7363	6309	13,672

Though antagonistic towards each other in the past<sup>67</sup>, yet both the ruling families suggested to an aggregate togetherness in respect of the rules governing their succession to the throne<sup>68</sup>; hence, "patricide and fratricide were the hereditary failings of these two royal families. Safdar Ali Khan murdered his father, the ruler of Hoonza in 1886, usurped the throne, and put two of his brothers to a cruel death, in order to assure to himself the sole sovereignty over his country; while Raja Uzr Khan, his heir-apparent of Nagar actuated by a similar policy, had two of his younger brothers assassinated in 1891..... And so, too, acted their forefathers before them for many generations<sup>69</sup>". In the former case, the method of removal was somewhat ingenious. "The sister of the heir-apparent, entertaining great affection for her brother, sent as a New Year's present to the aged King a robe of honour in which a man had died of confluent small pox. The gift proved as fatal as the shirt of Nessus<sup>70</sup>....."

The two ruling families had similar compatibility in the matters, relating to the royal grandeur, the reflections of which were imminent in the way the rulers constructed and adorned their castles systematically. The Hoonza capital, a wall-surrounded city, which stood high on the mountain side, contained a cluster of buildings rising in steps to the imposing castle of the Hoonza monarchs<sup>71</sup>. The



castle in itself was "a curious, rambling old palace, some five storeys high, well-built of sand, dried mud, stones and timber". At the top, one could find overhanging galleries of tastefully-carved wood. Some of the rooms were capacious and comfortable but most of them were dark little cells. A ladder in the middle of the floor of a room, and passing through square hole in the ceiling, afforded access from one storey to the next<sup>72</sup>. Being meant for variety of purposes, one could find present in these chambers and cellars the variety of feminine belongings<sup>73</sup>, articles of sports, arms and ammunition of both indigenous and foreign manufacture<sup>74</sup> and present and gift<sup>75</sup> items, certain castle chambers sufficed the function of routine stores containing granaries overflowing with grain, sugar, loaf and candid, walnuts, dried apricots, mulberries, chillies, lucifer, matches, Russian candles and liquor bottles<sup>76</sup>. Though the *Thums* were usually illiterate yet their castles contained an extensive and interesting library with the beautifully bound and illuminated Korans, curious Hindu book and manuscripts, works of some imminent persian poets and spectacularly a universal history captioned *Khulassat ul Akhbar* by Khondimir<sup>77</sup>. In their library, one met with masses of correspondence in persian, letters from British agent at Gilgit, from Kashmir, Russia and Chinese authorities<sup>78</sup>.

The dress of the Raja's family also exhibited the royal grandeur. By the time Ellak Maillart toured Hoonza, he found the *Mir* keeping beard dyed with *henna*. He wore gold-rimmed spectacles and his head wore the superb national cap. He was magnificently dressed in a *Khalat* of wool given to his father by Yaqub Beg, the conqueror of Sinkiang. His eldest son, put on a black frock coat and his grandson, a scout officer, had a jacket completely covered with gold braid<sup>79</sup>. The *Mir* of Nagar wore the similar type of dress and his wife, the Rani, was dressed in a grey robe of panne velvet with a necklace of pearls and turquoises<sup>80</sup>. To these royal members, dancing remained an important part of their recreation<sup>81</sup>. The small boys comprised the dancing groups<sup>82</sup>. Since these dances were Turkish-oriented, the dancing boys as such belonged to Kashghar Women<sup>83</sup>. Besides; the common natives, the chiefs and the princess equally participated in the national game of polo for which there was a polo-ground in each village<sup>84</sup>. The royal members entertained themselves with the theatrical programmes also in which the players distinguished themselves as hunters, or as dogs with moveable tails or as eagles; or put on ibex skins with turned back horns or skins of markhoras with flat horns growing backwards or of orials with horns descending in spirals and "each one minded the adventures of the most improbable hunting expeditions amidst shouts of laughters from everyone<sup>85</sup>".

Despite their racial<sup>86</sup> and cultural similarities the Hoonza-Nagaris were inclined to separate religious identities. The former belonged to a curious sect called *Maula*<sup>87</sup> which permitted un-Islamic mode of living, imminent, for instance, in wine-drinking<sup>88</sup>. Being liberal, they would not keep their women in



*purdah* - a phenomenon quite contrary to what obtained around in the adjacent villages of Hoonza itself<sup>89</sup>. However, the permission to photograph any female royal member was restricted in Hoonza<sup>90</sup>. The Hoonzas perceived that the spiritual contentment could best be attained by the study of their own Holy Book; hence, disbelieved in the Holy Koran<sup>91</sup>. They considered Agha Khan, the descendent of Ali ( the son in law of Prphhet Mohammad [pbuh] ), the quasi-divine head of the sect of the Ismaili Muslims, as their spiritual guide<sup>92</sup>. The faith in and their devotion to their spiritual guide is exemplified in the way the *Mir* of Hoonza displayed the geneology of Agha Khan on the wall of his palace<sup>93</sup>. Even the *Mir*'s own three years son put on an enamel reproducing the portrait of Agha Khan<sup>94</sup>. Every two years caravans, comprising the faithful tribesmen of Hoonza and other Baltit areas visited Agha Khan at Bombay with rich tributes of gold<sup>95</sup>. The lands of Hoonza, Sarikol and other adjacent valleys raised a regular contribution amounting to rupees thirty thousand in the name of Agha Khan<sup>96</sup>. Those who were economically incapacitated used to borrow in order to be able to attain eternity<sup>97</sup>. A prominent feature of this sect of the Ismaili Muslims was that they had no faith in Holy war<sup>98</sup>. However, unlike Hoonzas, the Ngaris were inclined to a separate religious sect of the muslims<sup>99</sup>. Being *Shias*, they strictly adhered to the Islamic tenets and thus refrained from taking of the wine<sup>100</sup>. According to Ellak Maillart, the Shia Muslims of Nagar were of melancholy temperament, for their mountains were in shadow the whole winter through<sup>101</sup>.

The Hoonza-Nagaris were poles apart from each other in other spheres too. Whereas, Nagaris were overall less aggressive, the Hoonzas, on the other hand, were more truculent<sup>102</sup> who carried on the major portion of the caravan-raiding and slave-hunting in the valleys of Hindukush<sup>103</sup>. The Hoonzas thus regarded the Nagaris inferior regardless of the fact that the latter were thoroughly intelligent. They had perfectly "a marvellous way of conveying intelligence across country, with very great accuracy and extreme rapidity..... on what system they work, and who works it... European has yet succeeded in discovering about it<sup>104</sup>.....". Nonetheless, as and when the two peoples were pitched against a foreign foe, the shrewed Hoonzas used to so contrive matters that the poor Nagaris were put to bear the maximum brunt of the war<sup>105</sup>. Though the Hoonzas were relatively pleasant without any kind of hypocrisy, they at the same time were most unprincipalled who unblushingly committed acts of abominable treachery and cruelty<sup>106</sup>. They were even disloyal to each other and were unhesitant in pillaging and betraying their own kiths and kins<sup>107</sup>.

True Hoonza-Nagar formed the two major administrative divisions of Gilgit valley. Together with this, they themselves made the ravines, each ruled over by the respective Maharaja with the assistance of either their successors or their chief minister staffed by other officials too<sup>108</sup>. The dependence of the Raja on these persons was subservient as to how strong and capable the former was as a ruler<sup>109</sup>.



Thus, for instance, the old Maharaja of Nagar, Zaffar Khan, being old and infirm, was only nominally the chief; the reigning active being his successor Sikander Khan<sup>110</sup>.

Anyhow, since both the Hoonza-Nagar valleys remained largely overpopulated<sup>111</sup>, their maximum population as such was concentrated in the villages<sup>112</sup>. Each village being solidly fortified<sup>113</sup>, usually stretched over two to three miles probably in square area<sup>114</sup>. Each village had its own headmen about whose functions the information remains scarce<sup>115</sup>. It is but certain that these headmen were of peasant heathen<sup>116</sup>. Since, each village gave the appearance of much like a medieval European city<sup>117</sup>, it was not, therefore, surprising to observe therein a cluster of "flat-roofed stone houses crowded together and surrounded by lofty walls, with towers at intervals" and deep moats around as a defence<sup>118</sup>. Added to these, there were other type of well constructed houses therein too<sup>119</sup> which had some pretensions to comfort<sup>120</sup>. Outside the fortified wall of the villages, however, one could notice very few houses among the fields; it being the custom for the cultivators in both these insecure lands to retire to the protection of their fortifications every night<sup>121</sup>. This sounds that in each valley there were extensive terraces of arable fields so beautifully tended as to lend support to the established fact that besides being "bold robbers", the Kanjutis were also industrious agriculturists<sup>122</sup>. Alone in the Hoonza capital, cultivated land spread over seven miles upon and down the valley and about two miles in breadth<sup>123</sup>. As a matter of fact, all flat steps of soil which lay between the foot of mountains and the edge of the river cliff were under active cultivation in both the territories<sup>124</sup>. The entire land was irrigated by the most amazing system whereunder the water courses were excavated through miles of cliff from the glaciers to slopes with resultant agricultural cultivation therein<sup>125</sup>. Though the mountain sides were quite bare and arid, still the villagers utilised every glacier stream to transform the available land into quite useful arable plots<sup>126</sup>. No doubt in Hoonza there were only few green spots here and there where side streams were utilised for irrigation, still agricultural activity remained the occupation of many people; hence cultivation, alongwith other activities, featured the economic life of the people in Hoonza<sup>127</sup>. In Nagar particularly much cultivation in the lower levels was effectively carried on<sup>128</sup>. With the result, entire Nagar district appeared to be fairly rich and prosperous<sup>129</sup> due to the on-going agricultural activity in numerous villages constituting it<sup>130</sup>.

On the arable land thus available in both the states, in little or large quantity, the peasantry raised wheat as a principal crop<sup>131</sup>. However, in view of the over population, the supply of wheat was always insufficient<sup>132</sup> and nothing surplus for export was produced. Whatever little was produced, sufficed the given number of their own people for whom due to the inherent poverty, the purchase of grain from India was obviously unaffordable<sup>133</sup>. The corn being ground in mills



driven by water power<sup>134</sup>, was preferably stored for the crude winters<sup>135</sup> while for the summer months, the natives mostly subsisted on fruits, milk and meat of the sheep and goat, as, when and with whomsoever available<sup>136</sup>. One reminds that besides corn, the peasantry produced orchards of peaches, apples and mulberries while the wines and apricots festooned all the other trees<sup>137</sup>. Hoonza people have a saying that "since apricot production was their chief industry, their men must not migrate to regions without apricots grown<sup>138</sup>". However in view of the paucity of material it is not possible to determine as to what was the magnitude of the tax demanded on all these agricultural products in individual or in aggregate. We are only told that the *Thums* grinded their own people with heavy taxation<sup>139</sup>. Alongwith the agriculture, the natives were engaged in the ongoing commercial activities in the region. This is probably the reason that they understood the use of money and valued its possession<sup>140</sup>. Whether the natives ever acted as traders is not known due to the paucity of material. It is, however, certain that many of them accompanied the caravans as coolies and earned them livelihood in this way. They also acquired money as and when the foreigners transacted with them on any account<sup>141</sup>.

Given the mountainous formation of the two states the natives bred cattle for domestic use as well as agricultural ploughing<sup>142</sup>. During the war conditions, the natives shifted their cattle to deserted mountains for safety<sup>143</sup>. The Hoonza animals, one notices, were well furnished to withstand the inclemency of the climate<sup>144</sup>. Their sheep and oxen had all very long hair, under which was a short, soft, silky wool, much used in the manufacture of *pashmina*<sup>145</sup>. The price of an ordinary sheep varied from place to place. At Bagrot, each sheep carried the average price of 2 rupees and 8 annas; at Gulmat 2 rupees; at Tashot 1 rupee and 8 annas and at Nagar proper, the cost would go as high as 3 rupees; this being indeed due to their good quality<sup>146</sup>. Alongwith the native sheep, one could come across in Nagar valley even the well formed sheep bred usually across the Pamirs. It was rather square in shape covering thick wool<sup>147</sup>. The flap of the Pamir sheep was considered by some natives especially good eating<sup>148</sup>. This does not sound at all that they did not taste the meat of their native sheep. If anything stopped them from taking the meat, it was either due to the factor of poverty or that of the strict religious scruples<sup>149</sup>. Thus no true Hindu at Tashot touched the meat of animals and even some neo-converted Muslims, adhered to the past practice of not eating meat<sup>150</sup>. Nevertheless, the Hoonzas were not only the meat-eaters of ordinary sheep but even that of the sturdy buffalo-like cattle of the highland<sup>151</sup>. Being wine-bibbers also, their ruler never drank water by any chance; wine and spirit were his only beverages<sup>152</sup>. The Hoonza wine was so sensitive that it was not kept beyond a year, hence was stored underground in earthen jars<sup>153</sup>. It looked like weak cold tea with milk in it and though sour, it was still palatable<sup>154</sup>. Besides, meat and wine, the Hoonza-Nagaris relished the chapatis<sup>155</sup>. The *ata* (flour or meal) being their staple food, was made into the cakes with water and



then backed so that it ultimately transformed into *Chapati*<sup>156</sup>. Apples, walnuts, apricots and milk supplemented the routine food of the natives<sup>157</sup>. Since the butter was rarely available in these highlands<sup>158</sup>, it is very likely that the natives may have been seldom used to it. The butter processing was primitive; the milk was put in a skin which was tied-up and then a man, squatted down, rocked this on his knees till the desired result in the form of butter was obtained<sup>159</sup>. The same was stored by burying it in the earth because the butter of many years old was considered good<sup>160</sup>. About the consumption of cheese, as an item of native food, we have till date no information available.

The use of the animals for agricultural ploughing was rendered possible by several tools which were repaired and manufactured by the native smith<sup>161</sup>. His forge was under a tree and consisted of four lumps of stone laid on the ground. Charcoal was the fuel and two goatskin bellows worked by an assistant youth gave a very irregular blast of air. The smith had a hammer; his anvil was very small and the rest of gear was almost carried in a waistcoat pocket<sup>162</sup>. Generally there was a good deal of brazing in the common articles he repaired and manufactured often against cash terms. He demanded two *annas* as wages for the repair of a foreign-made knife<sup>163</sup>. The craftsmanship of the natives was even reflected in the art of their basket making<sup>164</sup>. They also made matchlocks with rifled barrels; their boring and rifling were very creditable<sup>165</sup>. They also manufactured cotton and woolen fabrics for their personal use<sup>166</sup> and manufactured shoes from the leather of their dead animals which they otherwise rared<sup>167</sup>.

The language of the natives was Burushaski<sup>168</sup>. It was unrelated to any known idiom and it was a language of around 2,000 years old before the diffusion of Sanskrit throughout India. The language had no less than four genders and twenty eight plural forms<sup>169</sup>. Since this language was purely localised<sup>170</sup>, it was, therefore, difficult for any person who visited this region for the first time to comprehend<sup>171</sup> it. Thus, the conversation between the foreigners and the natives was always restricted<sup>172</sup>.

#### NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Oscar Eckenstein, *Karakoram and Kashmir: An Account of a Journey*, London, 1896, p75.
2. Frederic Drew, *The Jammu and Kashmir Territories: A Geographical Account of 1875*, New Delhi, 1976, Re-print pp 435-50; Maulvi Hashmat Ullah Khan Luckhnawi, *Mukhtsar Tarekh Jammu wa Kashmir*, (urdu), Jammu Re-print, 1992, pp 754-894.
3. Ibid
4. Oscar Eckenstein, op.cit., pp 120-22.
5. E.F.Knight, *Where three Empires Meet: A Narrative of Recent Travel in Kashmir, Western Tibet, Gilgit and the Adjoining Areas*, New Delhi Re-print, 1993, pp 345-46.



6. Frederic Drew, op.cit., p457.
7. E.F.Knight, op.cit., p 345.
8. Ibid
9. Oscar Eckenstein, op.cit., pp 120-22.
10. E.F.Knight, op.cit., pp 476-77.
11. Ibid
12. Ibid
13. Ibid
14. Ibid
15. Oscar Eckenstein, op.cit., p 120-22.
16. Ibid
17. E.F.Knight, op.cit., p 347.
18. Ibid
19. Ibid; p 348.
20. Ibid
21. Ibid
22. Ibid
23. E.F.Knight, op.cit., p 348.
24. Ibid
25. Ibid
26. Ibid
27. Frederic Drew, op.cit., p 461.
28. Ibid
29. Ibid p 456.
30. Nagas became a tributary of Kashmir state in 1868 while Hoonza accepted the suzerainty of Maharaja of Kashmir in 1869. (Major John Biddulph, *Tribes of Hindukash*, 1880, pp 25,29)
31. Ibid; Frederic Drew, op.cit., p 457.
32. Major John Biddulph, op.cit. p 29. The state of Hoonza has often been actually at rivalry with the Maharaja of Kashmir. In 1870, the Hoonza Raja sent an agent to Srinagar to open friendly relations who was well received ( E.F.Knight, op.cit, p 457)
33. Ibid; p 25.
34. E.F.Knight, op.cit. Oscar Eckenstein, op.cit., p119-20, p 349.



35. Ibid
36. E.F.Knight, op.cit., p 349.
37. Ibid; p 475.
38. Ellak Maillart, *Forbidden Journeys from Peking to Kashmir*, London 1935, p 290.
39. Ibid
40. E.F.Knight, op.cit., p 349.
41. Ibid
42. Ibid
43. Ellak Maillart, op.cit.,pp 289-290.
44. Ibid; pp 276-77 and 289-290.
45. Ibid; pp 276-277.
46. Ibid
47. E.F.Knight, op.cit., p 351.
48. Ibid
49. Ibid; pp 351-52.
50. Ibid
51. Ibid; pp 252-53.
52. E.F.Knight, op.cit., pp 252-53
53. Ibid; p 353.
54. Ibid;
55. Ibid
56. Ibid
57. Ibid; pp 252-516.
58. For the future control of Hoonza-Nagar states, British government placed Nazim Khan, half brother to Saifdar Ali, ex-thum on the throne of Hoonza and reinstated old Zafar Khan in Nagar (E.F.Knight, op.cit. p516).
59. Ibid
60. Ellak Maillart, op.cit., pp 291-93.
61. Ibid; pp 288-289 and 291.
62. Ibid; pp 291-93.
63. Oscar Eckenstein, op.cit., pp 140-41.
64. Ellak Maillart, op.cit.,pp 289-90.



65. Ibid; p 290.
66. Moulvi Hashmatullah Khan, op.cit., pp892-94.
67. It was only in the begining of the 20th century that the rivalry between the two states subsided with their union (Ellak Maillart, op.cit., p290).
68. E.F.Knight, op.cit., pp 349-50.
69. Ibid; p 350.
70. Ibid
71. Ibid; p 471.
72. Ibid; p 476.
73. These included little wash-boxes and caskets of Chinese manufacture, containing cotton and needles from Manchestarand Bermingham, artifical flowers, scissors, bits of un-finished needle work, tooth-powder, boxes of rouge, pots of pomade and cosmetics, parasols, scraps of silk, old robes and scarves, rough baby-drawings in charcoal on the walls and playthings of various kinds (Ibid; p 477-478).
74. These included the arms like Martin-Henry, Winchesta, Spencer, Enfiled and Berdan rifles with Russian ammunition. Short guns of French and Russian manufacture, swordsticks and Belgian revolvers, handsome jezailes, *talwars*, shields of native workmanship, flags, war drums, heavysuits of chain armour and sufficient quantity of local gunpowder was equally found in the castle chambers (Ibid; p 483). Added to these, one could come across some artillery pieces including powerful canon manufactured by a Chinese armourer from Yarkand for the stronghold of Hunza Thumb. The Thumb was so much excited on seeing this heavy piece of canon that he graciously appreciated the armourer and contrarily decapitated him lest this unique workman should betake himself to Nagar, Gilgit or even to England and manufacture similar ordnance for those rival poweres (Ibid; p 483).
75. These included large mirrors, some good telescopes and field glasses, brazen lamps of elegant design, musical boxes, paper-machie, writing desks and work boxes, coloured portraits, walking sticks with a capacity to be pulled to pieces and converted into two knives, forks, spoons, corkscrews, brazen bowls, ewers and jars, Russian *samavars*, Chinese plates and cups (Ibid; p 484). These items were either received as gifts from Kashmir, China or Russia or more likely plundered from Central Asian caravans (Ibid).
76. Ibid; pp 480-90.
77. Ibid, p 485.
78. Ibid;
79. Ellak Maillart pp 285-88.
80. Ibid; pp 288-90.
81. Ibid p 288.
82. Ibid
83. Ibid
84. Ibid; 292; Oscar Eckenistein, p 130.



85. Ibid
86. The Honozas-Nagaris for instance, hailed from one Dard race. E.F. Knight, op.cit. p 350). Frederic Drew (op.cit. pp 456-61) is of the opinion that both the peoples hailed from a sub-race called *Yashkum*. He has further maintained that Hoonza Raja's family was called by the name of the *Ayeshia* and Nagar Rajas family claimed origin from Mongolites.
87. Ellak Maillart, op.cit., p 287.
88. E.F.Knight,, op.cit., p 351.
89. E f.Knight, op.cit., p 493.
90. Ibid; p 71.
91. Ibid
92. Ellak Maillart, op.cit., p 287
93. Ibid
94. Ibid
95. Ibid
96. Ibid
97. Ibid
98. ibid
99. E.F.Knight, op.cit., p 351.
100. Frederic Drew, op.cit. p 456; E.F.Knight, op.cit., p 351.
101. Ellak Maillart, op.cit., 290.
102. E.F.Knight, op.cit., pp 472-75.
103. Ibid
104. Oscar Eckenstein, op.cit, pp 125, 134. This has been maintained about the natives of *Gulmat*, one of the major administrative units of Nagar Valley (Ibid;).
105. E.F.Knight, op.cit., pp 495-96.
106. Ibid
107. Ibid
108. Oscar Eckenstein, op.cit., pp 133-34.
109. Ibid; p 146.
110. Ibid; p 146.
111. E.F.Knight, op.cit., p 460.
112. Ibid; pp 460-63.
113. Ibid



114. Ibid; p 463.
115. Ibid; p 492.
116. Oscar Eckenstein, op.cit., p 95
117. E.F.Knight, op.cit., p 460.
118. Ibid
119. Ibid
120. Ibid
121. Ibid; p 463.
122. Ibid; p 460.
123. Ibid, op.cit. p 475.
124. Ibid; p 463.
125. Ellak Maillart, op.cit., p 289-90.
126. E.F.Knight, op.cit., p 463.
127. Oscar Eckenstein, op.cit. p 120. In the adjoining village of Baltit, ground was exceedingly well cultivated. The area was a well planted with *chenar* trees which afford ample shade at all times of the day. (Ibid; p 132).
128. Ibid; p 122.
129. Ibid; op.cit., pp 120-22.
130. Ibid; p 130.
131. E.F.Knight, op.cit., pp 460-63.
132. Ibid, p 460.
133. Oscar Eckenstein, op.cit., pp 78-79 and 289-90.
134. Ibid, p 131.
135. Ibid
136. E.F.Knight, op.cit., p 460. p 95.
137. E.F.Knight, op.cit., pp 463-64.
138. Ellak Maillart, op.cit., pp 289-90.
139. E.F.Knight , op.cit., p475; Ellak Maillart, op.cit., pp 288-90.
140. Oscar Ecknestein, op.cit., p 131.
141. Ibid; pp 123-24.
142. E.F.Knight, op.cit., p 481.
143. Ibid; p 462.



144. Ibid; p 481.
145. Ibid, p 481.
146. Oscar Eckenstein, op.cit., p 128.
147. Instead of having a tail, it had a flap shaped appendage. An average Pamir sheep had the flap about 8 inches wide, 10 inches long and 2 to 3 inches thick. It was rather square in shape; the lower corners were somewhat rounded off. Indeed the appendage looked much bigger. As compared to the rest of the animals, it was covered with thick wool (Ibid;).
148. Ibid
149. Ibid; p 130.
150. Ibid
151. E.F.Knight, op.cit., pp 478-81.
152. Ibid
153. Ibid
154. Ibid
155. Oscar Eckenstein, op.cit., p 130.
156. Ibid
157. E.F.Knight, op.cit., pp 481 and 493.
158. Oscar Eckenstein, op.cit., pp 110-111.
159. Ibid
160. Ibid
161. Ibid; pp 123-24.
162. Ibid
163. Ibid
165. Ibid
166. Moulvi Hashmatullah Khan, op.cit., p 890.
167. Ibid
168. Ellak Maillart, op.cit., p 291.
169. Ibid
170. Ibid
171. Oscar Eckenstein, op.cit., p 134.
172. Ibid.



1870

1871

1872

1873

1874

1875

1876

1877

1878

1879

1880

1881

1882

1883

1884

1885

1886

1887

1888

1889

1890

1891

1892

1893

1894

1895

1896

1897

1898

1899



# REPRINTS



# REPRINTS



## NOTES ON THE CLASSIFICATION OF BASHGALI

By STEN KONOW

THE Bashgalis are the inhabitants of the valleys of the Bashgal River and its contributories. Their settlements extend so far as Birkot on the Chitral stream. According to Dr. Grierson, their dialect can be taken as the type of the language of the Siāh-pōsh Kāfirs of Northern Kāfiristan. An excellent book on Bashgalī has been published by Colonel J. Davidson, C.B., I.S.C.,<sup>1</sup> and the remarks which follow are exclusively based on it. I have also, throughout, adopted Colonel Davidson's writing of Bashgalī words, with the sole exceptions that I have substituted  $\chi$  for his kh (sometimes written *kh*),  $\gamma$  for his gh (sometimes written *gh*),  $\dot{n}$  for his *ng*, and cancelled the underlining of *sh* and *zh*.

Bashgalī is not an isolated language. It forms part of a group of dialects spoken on the North-Western frontier of India. The relationship of this group within the Aryan family, to which it belongs, has been variously defined. Trumpp<sup>2</sup> states that "the Kāfir tongue being

<sup>1</sup> *Notes on the Bashgalī (Kāfir) Language*. Calcutta, 1902. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1902, vol. lxxi, pt. i, Extra No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> "On the Language of the so-called Kāfirs of the Indian Caucasus": JRAS., 1862, Vol. XIX, pp. 1 ff., see p. 7.



a pure Prakrit dialect, separated from its sister dialects since the irruption of Mohammadan power, in the tenth century of our era, is of the greatest importance to Indian philology". Tomaschek<sup>1</sup> describes the dialects of Kāfiristan as various forms of a pure Prakrit language. He draws attention to the fact that the Kāfirs count by twenties and sees herein traces of a non-Aryan substratum. Kuhn<sup>2</sup> classes the languages in question as a separate group within the Aryan languages of India. Biddulph<sup>3</sup> is inclined to consider xōwār and the Kāfir dialects as an intermediate link between Indian and Iranian. Dr. Grierson, finally, in his exhaustive monograph<sup>4</sup> infers "that these languages, which I group together under the name of 'Modern Pāisācī', form a third, independent, branch of the great Aryan family, and that they are neither Eranian nor Indian, but something between both. They seem to have left the parent stem after the Indo-Aryan languages, but before all the typical Eranian characteristics, which we meet in the Avesta, had become developed".

In drawing up a Bashgalī Dictionary for Dr. Grierson's Linguistic Survey I have repeatedly been confronted with the question about the relationship of that dialect to other Aryan languages. I have come to the result that Dr. Grierson was right in separating Bashgalī, and consequently the whole group,<sup>5</sup> from Indo-Aryan, but I think that Bashgalī is essentially an Iranian dialect and cannot,

<sup>1</sup> Ersch und Gruber, *Encyklopädie*, s.v. Kafir.

<sup>2</sup> Berichte des VII. Orientalisten-Congresses, Wien, 1888, p. 81; *Album Kern*, pp. 221 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, p. 158.

<sup>4</sup> *The Pāisācī Languages of North-Western India*. London, 1906. Asiatic Society Monographs, vol. viii, see p. iii.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Grierson calls the group Modern Pāisācī. This name is based on the assumption that the language or languages described by Prakrit grammarians under the name of Pāisācī was spoken on the North-Western frontier of India, and derived from the same branch as Bashgalī and connected languages. I am unable to accept this theory, for several reasons which I have set forth in a paper, *The Home of Pāisācī*, in the ZDMG. lxiv, pp. 95 ff.



consequently, be derived from a third branch of the Aryan family intermediate between Indian and Iranian. The other dialects connected with Bashgali are, with the exception of Kāśmīrī, which seems to occupy a position apart, insufficiently known and cannot be so minutely analysed as Bashgali. I have therefore thought it necessary to publish the materials on which I have based my conclusions as to the affiliation of the dialect, separately without reference to other connected forms of speech. Such a detailed analysis of the individual dialects is the necessary preliminary to a final classification of the whole group. In our case it will also be found of interest because it reveals a state of affairs which we can trace back to the middle of the second millennium B.C.

In trying to characterize the philological position of a dialect such as Bashgali we must keep in mind that the various branches of one and the same linguistic family are not separated from each other like the branches of a tree, and that they have never been absolutely one like the stem. The language of the Aryans before they separated was probably comparatively uniform. There were, however, dialectic varieties. When new grammatical or phonological developments had been started, they spread now in one, now in another direction. The whole area was therefore divided up, but not into well-defined compartments with marked boundaries and definite characteristics. The different groups overlap, and one feature which may be characteristic of one class is often found outside its territory, and is, on the other hand, sometimes absent where it might be expected. Thus the common change of *s* to *h* in Iranian languages can also be traced, outside the Iranian area, in India,<sup>1</sup> while I hope to show that there have, from the oldest times, been Iranian dialects in which it did not take place. Similarly, the more modern change of Iranian *s* (Aryan *ś*)

<sup>1</sup> Grierson, ZDMG. L, p. 17.



to *h* is found in Western Indo-Aryan and in Persian, but not in non-Persian dialects. We cannot, therefore, at the present day expect to find anything but a complicated state of affairs in a border dialect such as Bashgali, spoken between the territories occupied by two connected but different families. Some features will be found to point in one and others in another direction. The details examined below will, however, show that in most phonological features Bashgali agrees with Iranian languages, while the chief characteristic in which it follows the Indian tongues as against Iranian can be traced in an Iranian dialect at a very early period. The grammatical system, on the other hand, has been so thoroughly recast, both in modern Iranian and in modern Indo-Aryan, that it is, in this respect, all but impossible to draw any conclusions from the state of affairs in Bashgali at the present day. Phonology will therefore prove a safer guide, and though I am not able to sketch the history of Bashgali sounds with anything approaching completeness, I think it is possible to point at so many certain facts that we can form a well-founded opinion about the position of the dialect within the Aryan family. Full certainty can only be obtained when we get fuller materials and more precise information about the pronunciation. Colonel Davidson's book is, it is true, remarkably reliable, and I have over and over again had occasion to admire how faithfully he tries to reproduce what he has heard. Only a scholar with systematical phonetical training is, however, able to reproduce the sounds of a strange language with absolute certainty. Moreover, the difficulty is, in the case of Bashgali, enhanced by the great number of loan-words, which are often almost impossible to recognize. My own knowledge of Iranian languages is, finally, rather limited, and I have not been able to explain more than a certain portion of the known Bashgali words etymologically. I have therefore only aimed at collecting and arranging



such certain facts as are apt to elucidate the question under consideration, leaving alone words which I cannot explain and such features in which Iranian and Indo-Aryan languages agree with each other and with Bashgalī.

### VOWELS

The short Aryan *a* is often kept unchanged ; thus, *añā*, fire, cf. Sanskrit *agnī*, fire, *āṅgāra*, charcoal ; *nach*, to loose, S. *naś*. In many cases, however, it is changed to *i* ; thus, *ī*, this, S. *ayām* ; *gīr*, to count, S. *gaṇaya-* ; *mīj*, middle, S. *mādhya* ; *wasemā*, we will halt, but *wisilom*, I will remain, S. *vas*. In such instances the change may be due to the neighbourhood of an *i* or *y*. More difficult is the change in *ī*, *īā*, or *ō*, I, S. *ahām*. The vowel of this word is probably not exactly like any English vowel, because then we could not understand why it should be written in such different ways. If it actually sounds like an *i*, we may compare the substitution of *i* for *a* in new-Persian if the *a* is followed by an *h* or a sibilant. The change of *a* to *i* in Indian vernaculars, which is already found in the Prakrits, does not seem to be of the same kind.<sup>1</sup> Still, it is of interest to see that the use of an *i* for an old *a* is most common in Sindhī, where we have already found another feature which connects the dialect with Iranian, viz. the change of *s* to *h*. In connexion with the change of *a* to *i*, I may also draw attention to the form *emā*, we, S. *asmā-*, which is comparable with Avestan *ēhma*.

The *i* of the base *pilt*, to fall, is apparently also derived from an *a*, cf. Prakrit *paḍ*, to fall. It is, however, more likely that *il* in this word represents a *li*-vowel, just as we find *ir* for the *ri*-vowel in *zira*, heart, S. *hrīdaya*. The Prakrit *paḍ*, to fall, has usually been derived from S. *pat*,

<sup>1</sup> See Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, §101 seq. ; Grierson *Phonology of the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars*, ZDMG. xlix, p. 402.



cf. Pischel, § 218. I think that it would be more likely to connect it with Bashgalī *pilt*. The instances in which a cerebral is spontaneously substituted for a dental in the Prakrits are very few, and they would probably become fewer still if we were better informed about the history of such words. Thus, Prakrit *paḍāā*, a flag, S. *patākā*, may owe its *ḍ* to the word *paṭa*, to which it might have been put in connexion, and so on. If, therefore, Prakrit *paḍ* corresponds to Bashgalī *pilt*, it must be separated from S. *pat* (Greek *πίπτω*), and connected with Lithuanian *pūlu*, *pūlti*, fall. The Prakrit and Bashgalī verb then contains a suffix *t*, while the corresponding base in Teutonic languages has been increased by adding an *n*.

A short Aryan *a* often becomes *o* or *u*; thus, *ushp*, horse, S. *ásva*; *osht*, *usht*, eight, S. *ashtá*; *kur*, ass, S. *khára*; *kutoss*, says, S. *kathaya-*(?); *kōr*, ear, S. *kārṇa*; *gun*, smell, S. *gandhá*; *chiom*, leather, S. *chárman*; *dots*, *duts*, ten, S. *dása*; *dutt*, tooth, S. *dánta*; *dōn*, handle, S. *daṇḍá*; *pōch*, *pōj*, *pōnj*, five, S. *pāñcha*; *pott*, *putt*, road, S. *pánthās*; *mōch*, *mōsh*, but also *manchī*, man, S. *manushyà*; *lughā*, light, S. *laghú*; *wosut*, spring, S. *vasantá*. In some of these words the *o* or *u* perhaps indicates an indistinct vowel. If, however, we compare *usht*, eight, but *ashtits*, eighteen; *sutt*, seven, but *sapits*, seventeen, another explanation presents itself: the difference between *a* and *o*, *u*, is perhaps due to a difference in quantity. Words such as *ashtits*, eighteen, *sapits*, seventeen, have perhaps transferred the accent to the last syllable, and the first one has consequently been shortened. Now a long Aryan *ā* often becomes *ō* or *o* in Bashgalī; thus, *kon*, arrow, S. *kāṇḍa*; *kōn*, a mine, S. *khāni*; *grom*, *grām*, a village, S. *grāma*; *drōs*, grapes, S. *drākshā*; *nom*, *nām*, name, S. *nāma*; *pōl*, ploughshare, S. *phāla*; *bōr*, a load, S. *bhārā* (but *barwai*, a load-man, a coolie); *mōs*, moon, S. *māsa*; *wōr*, turn, time, S. *vāra*. If we consider cases such as *mōch* and *manchī*, man; *dott*, tooth, but *atēr*,



inside, it becomes probable that the change of *a* to *ō* or *o* is caused by a lengthening of the vowel, and this lengthening can, in many cases, be considered as a compensation for a corresponding shortening of the consonantal element. Thus, *kōr*, ear, S. *kārṇa*; *dutt*, tooth, S. *dānta*; *dōn*, handle, S. *daṇḍā*; *pōch*, five, S. *pāñcha*; *sutt*, seven, S. *sāpta*; *wosut*, spring, S. *vasantā*, all end in consonants which have been simplified by means of assimilation. Now it is a well-known fact from Indo-Aryan languages that a consonant which has been derived through assimilation from a consonantal compound, has a strong tendency to be shortened, while, as a compensation, the preceding vowel is lengthened. Compare Hindī *āg*, Prakrit *aggi*, Sanskrit *agnī*. The Bashgali substitution of *o*, *u* for an old *a* can, in some cases, be the result of a similar tendency. It should, then, be remembered that the same is also the case in Iranian dialects,<sup>1</sup> and the substitution of an *o* or *u* for a long *ā* is as much in agreement with Iranian as with Indian tendencies,<sup>2</sup> the long *ā* being liable to be pronounced as an *ō* or *ǎ* in all Iranian languages.

The various changes which the old vowels *i* and *u* undergo in Bashgali have been registered by Dr. Grierson, *Pisāca Languages*, par. 13 ff. I cannot find much in them which would help us to better define the position of Bashgali within the Aryan family. Attention may be drawn to the not infrequent substitution of an *i*-sound for an *u*-sound. Thus *pitṛ* and *putṛ*, son, S. *putrá*; *pīsh*, flower, S. *pūshpa*; *biā*, *bā*, became, S. *bhātā*; *bhīm*, earth, S. *bhūmi*; *misht*, hilt, S. *mushṭī*. The intermediary step between *u* and *i* was probably *ü* (the sound in German "Mühe"), and this sound is perhaps intended in writings such as *iash*, *yazhī*, morning, S. *ushās*; *miok*, face, S. *mūkha*. In words such as *bhīm*, earth, S. *bhūmi*; *misht*, hilt,

<sup>1</sup> See *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, Bd. I, pt. ii, pp. 22 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See *Grundriss*, I, i, pp. 21, 207, 295, 350, 384.



S. *mushtī*, the change of *u* to *i* might be ascribed to the influence of the following *i*; in other cases no reason for the change is apparent. It is of interest for the question here under consideration, that a similar substitution of *i* for *u* is quite common in Iranian; compare Persian *pisar* and *pusar*, son; *dizh* and *duzh*, bad; *mishk* and *mushk*, musk; *sift* and *suft*, shoulder; *surīn* and *surūn*, hip; Balūchī *dīt* and *dūt*, smoke; Kurd *bin*, *būn*, base, Persian *bun*; *mishk*, mouse, Persian *mūsh*; Sariqoli *yūy*, yoke, S. *yugá*; Waxī *δīt*, smoke, Iranian *dūta*; *dīr*, far, S. *dūrā*; Gabrī, *dīr*, far, etc.<sup>1</sup>

In the treatment of the vowel *ri* the Indian and Iranian branches of the Aryan family have gone different ways. In India the consonantal element was dropped already in the Prakrits. Some few instances of the old *ri* occur in Apabhramśa (Pischel, § 47), but such words are certainly nothing but learned loans from Sanskrit. An initial *ri* often becomes *ri* (Pischel, § 56), but even here the forms without the *r* are quite common, and, at least in many cases, older (Pischel, § 57), so that the *r*-forms may, also in such cases, be due to the influence of Sanskrit. The state of affairs in modern vernaculars is quite in accordance with this conclusion. The old *ri*-vowel in genuine *tadbhavas* is always represented by one of the vowels *a*, *i*, or *u*.

The history of the *ri*-vowel in Iranian languages is quite different, the *r*-element having, in all dialects, been preserved to a considerable extent. In new-Persian *ri* has become *ur* after labials, *t*, *z*, and *zh*, and *ir* after other sounds; *rid* and *rish* become *ul*, *il*, and *ush*, *ish*, respectively; and *riy* becomes *ir*; thus, *pur*, Avestan *perena*, full; *kirm*, worm, S. *krīmi*; *mul*, wine, cf. S. *mṛidvikā*; *mushta*, rubbed, S. *mṛishṭā*; *dil*, heart, S. *hṛid*; *tish*, thirst, S. *trishṇā*; *mīryaḍ*, dies, Aryan *mṛiyatai*.<sup>2</sup> In Pashtō an old *ri* is represented by *ar*, *ir*,

<sup>1</sup> See *Grundriss*, I, i, pp. 25, 27, 235, 266, 294 f., 384.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, i, p. 273.



*ur*, or, before *sh* and *zh*, *a*, *i*, *u*, and *rit* becomes *r*; thus, *mar*, dead, S. *mṛitá*; *vur*, carried, S. *bhrítá*; *yazh*, bear, S. *ṛíksha*; *kish*, pulled, S. *kṛishtë́*.<sup>1</sup> In Balūchī we find *ar*, *ir*, *ur*, or *a*, *i*, *u*; thus, *gvark*, wolf, S. *vṛika*; *zirdē*, heart, S. *hṛidaya*; *murta*, dead, S. *mṛita*; *a-kan-īn*, I do, S. *kṛinómi*; *gipta*, seized, Avestan *garəpta*; *tunnag*, thirsty, cf. S. *trishṇá*.<sup>2</sup> In the Pamir dialects we have *er*, *ör*, *ūr*, or, *ār*, *el*, *ö* (before sibilants), while *rit* in Shighnī sometimes becomes *ūd*; thus, Sariqolī *cherm*, worm, S. *kṛimī*; *pörsum*, I ask, S. *pṛichehkhāmi*; *zārd*, heart, S. *hṛid*; Shighnī *yārsh*, bear, S. *ṛíksha*; *chūdām*, I did, S. *kṛitá*; Waxī *worz*, long, S. *bṛihát*; *vellk*, kidney, S. *vṛikká*.<sup>3</sup> The Caspian dialects have *ar*, *a*,<sup>4</sup> and so forth. It will be seen that the prevailing tendency is to retain the *r*-element unless a sibilant follows.

If we now turn to Bashgalī, the state of affairs is as follows. The *r*-element is well preserved in most cases. Thus in *wrikē*, *wrigē*, *iwrakē*, fox, cf. S. *vṛika*; *krā*, did, S. *kṛitá*; *mṛā*, died, S. *mṛitá*; *avērā*, brought, S. *ābhṛita*; *mṛi*, earth, soil, S. *mṛid*; *zira*, heart, S. *hṛidaya*; *tarīn* and *tarē*, thorn-bush, dog-rose, cf. S. *trīṇa*, English thorn. The word *kakak*, cock, cannot therefore well be derived from Vedic *kṛikavāku*. Like that latter word and like English *cock* it is an onomatopoetic word and belongs to the same class as nursery words, which are not, in many cases, subject to ordinary phonetic laws; compare the nursery word *papa*, father, which has kept its *p* in Teutonic languages, while the ordinary word *pater*, which is derived from it, has developed into English *father*. *Kakak* can therefore just as well be compared with English "cock" as with Vedic *kṛikavāku*. It is a parallel formation and not derived from either. The words *mṛi*, earth; *zira*, heart, show that *r* is also retained before an old *d*. The word *mol*, *mal*, dirty, is therefore scarcely connected

<sup>1</sup> *Grundriss*, I, ii, p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 235.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 297.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 349.



with Prakrit *maīla* (i.e. \**mṛidila*), but rather with S. *māla*.

The long *ṛi*-vowel is treated in a similar way; thus, *drgr*, long, cf. S. *dīrghā*; *tūr*, ford, S. *tīrthā*, Prakrit *tūha*; *wishtr*, broad, S. *vistīrṇa*, cf. Avestan *storōta*.

If the *ṛi*-vowel is followed by a sibilant, the *r*-element regularly disappears; thus, *īsht*, spear, S. *ṛishṭī*; *kshē*, rub, S. *ghṛish*; *ksho*, drag, S. *kṛish*; *ptī*, back, S. *pṛishṭhā*, Prakrit *putthī*; *pmisht*, forget, S. *pramṛish*; *mizho*, tell lies, cf. S. *mṛīshā*. The only exceptions from this rule which I have noted are *krujā*, *kruzhī*, but also *kish*, *kujhī*, cultivation, cf. S. *kṛishṭ*, *parmarshṭētī*, and *p'mishṭētī*, forgetfully. We may infer that the *r*-element is still slightly sounded in such words.

The sound represented by *ksh* in Sanskrit *ṛiksha*, bear, is apparently treated as a sibilant in Bashgali. The usual form of this word seems to be *īts*, *īts* (Davidson, Nos. 129, 930, 1123). In one place (1123) we find *rīts* mentioned as a parallel form. It is noticeable that Iranian languages commonly retain the *r*-element of the vowel in this word: thus, Persian *χīrs*, Shighnī *yūrsh*.

Curiously enough the *r*-element of *ṛi* is apparently dropped also after sibilants; compare *shī*, horn, S. *śṛīṅga*, *shīāl*, a jackal, S. *śṛīgālā*; *shīnar*, handsome, S. *śṛīṅgāra*; *uzzam*, to yawn, S. *vijṛimbh*.

Dr. Grierson<sup>1</sup> mentions various forms corresponding to S. *nṛittā*, dance, in which the consonantal element of *ṛi* has disappeared; thus, Bashgali *naṭ*, *nōt*, Kāśmīrī *nats*, Veron, Wai-alā, Kalāshā, Gawar-Bati *naṭ*, and so forth. All the instances of this cancelling of the *r*-element belong to the base *nṛit*, and it is in disaccord with the common tendency in Bashgali and connected languages. The words in question must therefore be considered as Indian loan-words. With regard to the treatment of the old *ṛi*-vowel in Bashgali we can accordingly lay down the rule that the

<sup>1</sup> *Pisāca Languages*, par. 31 ff.



*r*-element is preserved unless a sibilant follows or precedes, i.e. the state of affairs is almost the same as in most Iranian languages.

### CONSONANTS

I now turn to the history of the Aryan consonants in Bashgali, and begin with the sounds corresponding to the surds of the *vargas* in Sanskrit.

ARYAN STOPS. The history of stops (surd consonants) in Indian and Iranian languages differs to a considerable extent. In India a new class, the so-called cerebrals, has been added to the *vargas*, and the palatal *varga* has been largely added to from old sibilants. In other respects the original Aryan state of affairs has been much better preserved than is the case in Iranian tongues. In these latter ones the history of the Aryan stops can be sketched as follows:—

Unaspirated voiceless stops (*tenuēs*) remain unchanged before sonants and after sibilants. In other positions they develop into the surd spirants  $\chi$ ,  $\acute{s}$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $f$ . The corresponding aspirates become surd spirants, or, after sibilants and nasals, unaspirated voiceless stops.

Unaspirated voiced stops (*medice*) remain unchanged if they are not followed by sibilants, in which case they become sonant spirants  $\gamma$ ,  $z$ ,  $w$ . The aspirated voiced stops lose their aspiration.<sup>1</sup> All the Iranian languages point back to such a state of affairs. In order to define the position of Bashgali it will be necessary to examine the material in some detail.

The old Aryan *k* is, on the whole, well preserved. As a medial it is often also changed to *g*. Compare *ka*, who? what? S. *ka*; *kṛ*, to do, S. *kṛi*; *kar*, *kōr*, ear, S. *kārṇa*; (*gom*) *pōk*, (wheat) harvest, cf. S. *pāka*; *māruk*, frog, S. *mandūkā*; *ushpik*, wasp; *wrikī*, *iurakī*, and *wrigī*, fox, cf. S. *vṛika*; *mukiss* and *mugiss*, he fled, cf. S. *much*;

<sup>1</sup> *Grundriss*, vol. i, pt. i, p. 6.



*pagann*, get ripe, cf. S. *pāka*. The softening of a medial *k* to *g* is also common in Iranian languages such as new-Persian, Pashto, and the Pamir dialects.<sup>1</sup> In India a medial *k* was already dropped in the Prakrit stage. In later loan-words it is often softened to *g* in modern vernaculars (including the Apabhramśa).

The old Aryan *kh* is not distinguished from *k*, compare *kur*, ass, S. *khāra*; *miok*, face, S. *mūkha*. If *tsá*, branch, is identical with S. *sákā*, a medial *kh* can be dropped. My materials are not, however, sufficient for judging with certainty.

A hard spirant  $\chi$ , written *kh* or *kh*, occurs in some few words. In such cases where the *kh* has not been underlined in Colonel Davidson's book, it is possible, though not likely, that it denotes an aspirated *k* and not the spirant. I have therefore noted such cases in enumerating the words in which the spirant  $\chi$  seems to occur. They are *attχī*, *atχī*, or *attkī*, near; *χān*, a khān; *χunzā* and *kunzā*, a princess; *χazonn* (written *khazonn*), treasure; *χozla* (written *khozla*), a certain vegetable; *χel* (written *khel*), sweat; *mulχen* (written *mulkhen*), violet; *pχul*, *pχulā*, rotten; *p'χur* (written *p'khur*), on the top of; *tiχēlosh* (written *tikhēlosh*), thou wilt be caught. There cannot after this be any doubt that the spirant  $\chi$  is occasionally heard in Bashgali. It is, however, doubtful whether it can be considered as a genuine Bashgalī sound. Of the words enumerated above *χān*, *χunzā*, *χazonn*, *χozla*, *χel* (cf. Waxī *χil*), *mulχen* (said to be Chitrālī), *tiχēlosh* (cf. Brāhūi *tiχ*), are certainly loan-words, and the same is perhaps also the case with the rest. Instances of the use of  $\chi$  and *k* in the same word, such as *attχī* and *attkī*, *χunzā* and *kunzā*, seem to show that the voiceless spirant  $\chi$  is commonly pronounced as a *k*. Compare also *kabā*, angry, P. *خنه*; *karbiza*, melon, P. *خربزه*; *kanak*, rope,

<sup>1</sup> *Grundriss*, I, ii, pp. 62, 209, 299.



P. خناق ; *frāk*, loose, P. فراخ, where a *k* has been substituted for a  $\chi$  in Persian loan-words, and *chkrī*, polo ball, where *kr* has not been changed to  $\chi r$  (cf. S. *chakrá*). It does not, therefore, seem as if the hard spirant  $\chi$  actually plays a rôle in Bashgali phonology. In this respect the dialect apparently agrees with Balūchī. In the isolated instances *muγo*, on the face; *biliuγ* = *biliuk*, much; *chay*, *choy* = *chak*, low, the spirant has become softened. The whole evidence points to the conclusion that the spirant  $\chi$  is disappearing, being commonly replaced by *k*.

The unaspirated palatal *ch* is apparently retained, both as initial and as medial; thus, *chē*, *chī*, how many? cf. Awestan *chaiti*; *chiom*, leather, S. *chárman*; *chitt*, mind, S. *chittá*; *chkrī*, a polo ball, cf. S. *chakrá*; *chashton*, four and four, cf. S. *chatur*-; *kāchī*, somewhere, cf. S. *kvachid*; *pach*, to cook, S. *pach*; *morch*, pepper, cf. S. *maricha*; *ruch*, light, S. *rúchi* (but also *ruzh*, daylight, cf. Persian *rōz*); *pōch*, *puch*, five; *pachits*, fifteen, S. *pāñchan*, *pāñchadaśa*. The forms *pōj*, *pōnj*, five, are, perhaps, Persian loan-words. Compare, however, the softening of a medial *k* to *g*. In *shto*, four; *cha-shton*, four and four; *shtrits*, fourteen, *ch* has become *sh* before *t*, i.e. a hard spirant has been developed as in Iranian.

There are no instances of the aspirated Aryan palatal *chh* in my materials. The secondary *chchh*, *chh* in Sanskrit, is apparently represented by an affricata in Bashgali; compare *ats*, come, *edsā*, *odsī*, came, cf. S. *āgachchha*; *tsāwē*, shade, S. *chhāyā*; *watsā*, *wetsā*, *wetzā*, shoe, cf. S. *avachchhada*.

The Aryan dental stops have developed into two different sets of sounds in Indian languages, the so-called dentals and cerebrals. Dr. Grierson<sup>1</sup> maintains that there is no such distinction between the two groups

<sup>1</sup> *Pisāca Languages*, p. 17.



in Bashgali and connected languages, where all these sounds are, in fact, semi-cerebrals. I am not able to add anything to his materials in this respect. I shall mention below that there seem to be some cerebral sounds in Bashgali, viz. a cerebral *r* and a cerebral *ṛ*, the latter usually written *ṛ* or *ṛ̣*. A cerebral *t* and a cerebral *d* occur in some few words, viz. *ashtar* and *ashtr*, hill; *uletṭ*, is heaped up; *biṭṭā*, *butṭ* (also *burī*), rice, bread; *chattā* (also *charṛā*), idiot; *giṭu*, grafting; *gott*, a stack of grass; *juṭ*, a leopard; *peṭ* (and *per*), to break; *piṭr*, *puṭr*, son; *ṛattatt* (cf. *rāṛṛā*, noise), barks; *shuṛṭr*, sport; *adr*, box; *adr*, yellow; *adrā*, pale; *uḍerl*, thundering; *iṇḍron*, rainbow; *dadṛ*, thin; *kaḍṛ*, quicksand; *lḍel* and *ladel*, lying; *peḍrī* and *paḍrī*, axe. It will be seen that in most cases the cerebral is found in the neighbourhood of an *r*, and its existence is probably due to this fact. In other cases, such as *uletṭ*, *giṭu*, *gott*, *juṭ*, we have perhaps to do with loan-words; cf. Hindi *atāl*, heap; *gōṭī*, grafting; *gaṭ*, heap. At all events, there is no indication to show that Bashgali has, like Indo-Aryan vernaculars, developed two sets out of the Aryan dental stops, and it seems to be allowed to deal with the sounds noted as dentals and as cerebrals by Colonel Davidson as identical.

The unaspirated *t* is kept as an initial, and regularly dropped as a medial. Compare *tū*, thou, S. *tvam*; *tel*, oil, S. *tailā*; *tāp*, *tāb*, heat, S. *tāpas*; *troi*, *trē*, three, S. *trāyas*; *brā*, brother, S. *bhrātri*; *gwā*, went, S. *gatā*; *krā*, did, S. *krītā*; *luī*, blood, S. *lōhita*; *mī*, self, Latin *met*; *siū*, *sū*, *sūī*, bridge, S. *sētu*; *shē*, *shī*, cold, S. *śītā*; *shil*, *shillā*, cold, S. *śitalā*; *shilā*, smallpox, S. *śitalā*; *zamān*, son-in-law, cf. S. *jāmātri*. It will be seen that *rit* becomes *r* as in Pashtō; cf. *krā*, did; *mṛā*, died; *āwērā*, brought (cf. S. *ābhṛita*); *kaṛo* (but also *kato*), knife (Awestan *karata*). A final or medial *t* has apparently been preserved or sometimes changed to *d*, in *ut*, to use;



*ūd, ōd*, use, advantage; cf. Latin *utor, usus*. It is, however, possible that the final *t, d* of this word has been derived from a double consonant. *Kilār*, cheese, on the other hand, is probably an Indian loan-word; cf. S. *kilāṭa*.

The aspirated voiceless dental stop apparently becomes *t* and is kept as a medial; thus, *kutos*, says, S. *kathaya-*; *shott*, oath, S. *śapātha*; *ta, te*, or, S. *ātha*. None of these instances is, however, quite certain. *Th* is dropped after *r*; thus, *tār*, ford, S. *tārthā*, Prakrit *tāha*.

The hard dental spirant *θ* does not seem to exist in Bashgali. A *t* forming the first part of a consonantal compound would naturally become such a spirant in Iranian, while such compounds are simplified in Indo-Aryan, usually so that the *t* prevails. The different Iranian languages have then gone different ways in their treatment of such compounds. Thus the Iranian *θr* (Aryan *tr*) becomes *hr, r*, or *s* in Persian, *r* in Pashtō, *s* in Balūchī, *tr* in Pamir dialects, and so forth. In Bashgali the *t* of such compounds is well preserved; compare *trē, troi*, three; *trits*, thirteen; *piṭr, putr*, son; *rōtr, rōtar*, night; *tū, thou*; *-tī*, suffix of the gerund, cf. S. *-tvī*; *matsa, matsī*, fish, cf. S. *mātsya*. Forms such as *radar, radhar*, night, occur in addition to *rōtar*. They may be loan-words. It is, however, also possible that *rātr* has become *rātar*, and further *radar*; compare *ūt* and *ūd*, use. It is hard to say which sound is meant with the *dh* in *radhar*. A *dh* is also written in some few other words, viz., *andhar* and *andṛ*, dark; *odh*, merciful; *widhar* and *widar*, to fear. Of these *andhar* is probably a loan-word. It can hardly be an original word derived from the same Aryan base as S. *andhakāra*, because *ndh* becomes *n* in Bashgali. The alternative writing of *d* instead of *dh* in *andṛ* and *widar* seems to show that the sound intended is a *d* and not the soft spirant *δ*.

In several cases we find a sound marked *th*, and it might be suggested that the hard spirant *θ* is meant. The



sound occurs as an initial in *thayras*, a precipice; as a final in *ashtrith*, bedding; *Gairath*, name of a place. It is occasionally used in the suffixes of the second present and the gerund instead of the usual *t*: thus, *mṛēthum* and *mṛētam*, I die; *widerthum* and *widarēttum*, I fear; *widarthū*, *widhertī*, and *vidraiti*, having feared. In the base *atl*, to fall, we once find *th* written; thus, *cott athalon*, stones will fall (wrongly translated "there is a bog ahead of you" in No. 171). In all other instances *th* is preceded by a sibilant and interchangeable with *t*. The most common case in which this *th* is used is the infinitive termination *sth* (also *st*); thus, *bu-sth*, to become. Other authorities write *st* in this form, and there cannot be any question but that a voiceless stop and not a spirant is meant. Other instances of *th* are *hosth* and *hōst*, they are; *ashth* and *asth*, but usually *asht*, they are; *osth* and *aosht*, they come; *gīran-gusthē*, knotted gone, a knot (cf. *gittan-gus*, got knotted); *mṛisth*, probably miswriting for *mṛisht*, a corpse; *jīstha*, uncle, probably miswritten for *jīшта*, cf. *jīst*, oldest. It is possible that the *h* denotes a greater emphasis of the off-glide which may, according to the personal equation of the hearer, make the impression of an aspirated consonant. It is here of interest to remember that the result of a compound consonant containing a sibilant always is an aspirated group in the Prakrits.

The Aryan *p* remains unchanged as an initial; thus, *pī*, drink, S. *pā*; *pott*, *putt*, road, S. *pāṭhās*. A medial *p* has become initial in *p*, *pī*, on, Greek *ἐπί*. This preposition is very common in Bashgali. Before voiced consonants it becomes *b*; thus, *b'bdī*, in the mind; *bado*, on the hill. A final or medial *p* remains or is changed to *b* in *tap*, to be hot; *tāp*, *tapī* and *tāb*, *tabī*, hot. It is possible that we have here to do with loan-words, and that is almost certainly the case with *karbosh*, cotton, cf. S. *karpāsa*. In other instances a *p* in such positions



seems to have been changed to *w*, as in many Iranian dialects. This *w* has then usually disappeared after having darkened the preceding vowel; compare *áo*, water, S. *āp*; *shá*, night, S. *kshap*; *shott*, oath, S. *šapátha*; *nawōs*, nephew, Persian *nawāsa* (probably a loan-word).

The aspirated labial stop *ph* is apparently treated as a *p*: the only certain instance is *pōl*, S. *phāla*, a ploughshare.

The voiceless spirant *f* does not appear to exist in Bashgali. We find an *f* written in *frāk*, loose, Persian *فراخ*, and *faidā*, produced, Persian *بیدا*. The usual form of this latter word is, however, *paidā*, and the Persian *فرنگی* is represented by *prang*, English. The isolated instances of an *f* accordingly occur in loan-words. In such cases where, from an Iranian point of view, we should expect an *f* we always find *p*. Compare *prē*, go, S. *pra-i*; *ptā*, given, S. *prātta*; *prezhamā*, let us sit, cf. S. *pra + sad*; *pshā*, grind, cf. S. *pish*; *pshā*, sleep, cf. Avestan *hvaṣ*, Balūchī *vapsag*; *sapāts*, seventeen, S. *saptādaśa*. In *sott*, *sutt*, seven, S. *sāptan*; *nyūtā*, took, Avestan *garəpta*,<sup>1</sup> *pt* has become *tt*, *t*, as in Indian.

It will be seen that in the treatment of voiceless stops Bashgali agrees with Iranian languages in so far as it does not appear to possess any aspirates, and also in preserving several consonantal compounds. There are some few traces of spirants developed from such stops. In most cases, however, where such spirants are used in Iranian, Bashgali retains the old stops, and it is, at the present state of our knowledge, impossible to decide whether this state of things is inherited from the Aryan period as in Indian, or a secondary development as in Balūchī.

A peculiar interest attaches itself to the treatment of voiced stops in Bashgali. Dr. Grierson<sup>2</sup> mentions

<sup>1</sup> Compare Balūchī *gipta* as to the cancelling of the *r*-element of the *ri*-vowel.

<sup>2</sup> *Pisāca Languages*, p. 3.



as a characteristic feature of the languages grouped together by him as Piśāca languages the hardening of sonants. So far as I can see, this only applies to loan-words, and in that case it does not signify more than e.g. the common Indo-Aryan adaptation of English *lord* in the form *lāt*. Such cases of interchange between voiced and voiceless stops only show that the aspiration of surds is different in the borrowing language and in the tongue from which the loans have been made. Dr. Grierson also gives some instances of the same hardening in indigenous words, viz., Bashgalī *shūwā*, alive; *shū*, life, which he connects with S. *jīv*; Shinā *t-am*, I do, identified with S. *dhā-*, and Waialā *jip*, tongue, S. *jihvā*. I do not think that any conclusions can be based on such stray instances, some of which can also be explained otherwise. Bashgalī *shū*, life, occurs in Colonel Davidson's book in one sentence (No. 803), *ikīā tā shū ness*, in her (the dead woman) there is no life. Here *shū* can just as well correspond to S. *śvāsa*, breath, and *shūwā*, which does not occur in Colonel Davidson's sentences, would naturally be derived from *shū*. Shinā *t-am*, I do, can also be connected with S. *tan*, and the various forms of the word "tongue" in Indo-European languages differ so much from each other that none of them can well be used alone to prove the existence of phonetic laws. So far as I can see, all the evidence available from certain forms in Bashgalī is to the effect that voiced stops are never hardened unless they are immediately followed by hard sounds. On the other hand, several instances have been quoted of the opposite change, the softening of hard consonants.

The details which follow will show how the old Aryan voiced stops have been developed in Bashgalī. It will be most practical to deal with the unaspirated ones first and to discuss the aspirated mediæ apart from them.

A *g* is kept as an initial and, apparently, dropped



when medial. Compare *gū*, to go, S. *gā*; *gáo*, cow, S. *gō*; *gun*, smell, S. *gandhá*; *gūr*, count, S. *gaṇ*; *grom*, *grām*, village, S. *grāma*; *grish*, noon, S. *grīshmá*; *garo*, eclipse, S. *gráha*; *shiāl*, jackal, S. *ṣṛigālá*; *ats*, come, S. *āgachchha* (?).

The voiced spirant *γ*, written *gh*, occurs in some few words. I have already mentioned that it has been substituted for a voiceless stop in *biliuγ*, *biliuk*, much; *chāγ*, *choγ*, *chak*, low; *muγo*, on the face (*muk*). It further occurs in loan-words such as *ūγ*, water (Bashgali *áo*); *aoγān*, an Afghan; *chirāγ*, a lamp; *zuγ* (written *zugh*), a yak (Tibetan *gyag*). The other instances of the use of this *γ* in Colonel Davidson's materials are *charaγ*, foolish (No. 87, cf. *charṛā*, *chattā*, foolish); *mashoyott*, he became angry (No. 45, cf. *mashu*, anger); *wideγ*, fear (No. 458, cf. *widar*, to fear); *vrāγuttus*, I have received; *vrāγuttasā*, hast thou received? *vrāγalam*, I shall receive (No. 1136). Of these the final *γ* of *charaγ* and *mashoy(-ott)* is derived from an old *k*; compare the Persian suffixes *-ā*, *-āk*, *-āγ*, etc. The final *γ* of *wideγ* seems to denote a rough *r*, while the base *vrāγ* is probably connected with *ngā*, take. This verb is probably a compound of the base *grabh*; compare the past tense *ngūtā*, Avestan *gərəpta*, Balūchī *gipta*. *Vrāya-* is then perhaps comparable to forms such as *bragom* instead of *ba-grom*, in the village, and derived from a *\*va-γra*. If so, we must infer that *gr* originally became *γr*, and that the *γ* has been kept on account of the transposition of the *r*; *grom*, village, shows that the old *gr* has finally been restored. This would point to the conclusion that the use of voiceless stops in such positions where we would, from the point of view of Iranian phonology, expect spirants, is also a secondary development and comparable to the state of affairs in Balūchī.

The Aryan soft palatal *j* is retained as an initial and dropped as a medial; thus, *jasht*, eldest, S. *jyēśhtha*; *bī*,



seed, S. *bīja*, Balūchī *bīj*. Compare also the remarks about the soft palatal sibilant below.

The voiced dental stop *d* likewise remains as an initial and is dropped as a medial. Compare *dī*, sky, S. *dyaus*; *doī*, *duī*, arm, hand, S. *dōs*; *dā*, gift, S. *dāna*; *dōn*, handle, S. *daṇḍā*; *dush*, fault, S. *dōsha*; *dots*, ten, S. *dāsa*; *drōn*, bow, S. *drūṇa*; *dros*, grape, S. *drākshā*; *dū*, door, S. *dvār*; *dā*, two, S. *dvau*; *ū*, to go up, S. *ud-i*; *mṛi*, earth, soil, S. *mṛid*; *nizhī*, sit, S. *ni-shīd*; *pō*, *pū*, foot, S. *pāda*; *yū*, *eo*, eat, S. *ad*; *kāchī*, sometimes, S. *kvachid*; *prē*, give, S. *pra-dā*; *zira*, heart, S. *hrīdaya*; *dits*, twelve, S. *dvādaśa*; *trits*, thirteen, S. *trāyōdaśa*; *shtrits*, fourteen, S. *chāturdāśa*; *pachits*, fifteen, S. *pāñcha-daśa*, and so forth. The final *ts* of these last words is derived from Aryan *ś* and not from *-daś* > *-dś* > *-ts*; compare *dots*, ten, S. *dāsa*. In *vidar*, *vidhar*, to fear, the preservation of the *d* is perhaps due to the existence of a base *dar*.

*Rd* becomes *r*; thus, *mar*, shampoo. A similar development must probably have taken place in *gur*, sugar, S. *guḍa*, if this word is not an Indian loan-word. Before a voiceless stop *d* becomes *t*; thus, *ptā*, given, S. *prātta*; *tē*, *etē*, give, from *\*dta*, cf. S. *dattā*. In other positions the *d* remains, and *atamsh*, to bite, to sting, cannot therefore be derived from the base *damś*, but might be compared with English *sting*, Old Norse *stinga*.

The sound written *dh* has been referred to above in discussing the voiceless dental stop *t*.

The Aryan *b* is treated like other voiced unaspirated stops, i.e. it remains as an initial and is dropped as a medial; thus, *bī*, seed, S. *bīja*; *bdī*, mind, S. *buddhi*; *ku*, hump, cf. S. *kubjā*, English *hump*. In two cases (Nos. 526 and 672) we find *bapdī*, in the mind, instead of the common *babdī*, but this cannot be anything but a miswriting.

The state of affairs in Bashgalī with regard to



unaspirated voiced stops is accordingly the same as in Indo-Aryan vernaculars and as in the Caspian dialects of the Iranian family. We shall now see how the Aryan voiced aspirates have developed in the dialect.

Colonel Davidson (preface, p. xi) draws attention to the fact that some few examples of aspirates occur in his sentences. At the same time he reminds us that Dr. Trumpp and Sir G. Robertson denied the existence of aspirates in the language. The latter added that he had found it impossible to get his Kāfirs to pronounce the English *h*. Colonel Davidson's materials seem to confirm this statement. An *h* occurs in the beginning of the interjections *hē* and *hai*, and, cockney way, in some words which usually begin with a vowel, such as *hāu*, camest; *haiss*, has come (base *a*); *hatt*, there (pronominal base *a*); *hōst*, *hosth*, are (base *as*); further, in borrowed words such as *Hindustān*, Hindustān; *hinju*, tamarisk; *hukm*, command; *hōst susnī*, handkerchief ("hand" is *dasht*). In none of these cases the *h* seems to belong to the dialect. A final *h* is also sometimes written, apparently without any justification; thus in *boh*, to become (No. 43), base *bā*; *būloh*, will become (p. 20, usually *bulā*): *nāh*, male (Nos. 675, 680, 682, p. 1, instead of *nai*); *noh*, not (Nos. 43, 277, pp. 61, 62, usually *na*); *karoh*, in (?) (No. 235). About *mēh*, mist, see below. Finally, a medial *h* occurs in borrowed words such as *bihistī*, heaven; *mehar*, Mehtar; *mīhrbānī*, kindness. So far as I can see, it is quite certain that Bashgalī does not possess an indigenous *h*. This conclusion is further strengthened by a consideration of the history of the Aryan aspirated voiced stops, which, as a general rule, lose their aspiration in Bashgalī.

The Aryan *gh* becomes *g* and *jh* becomes *j*; thus, *drgr*, long, S. *dīrghā*; *lugā*, light, S. *laghū*; *jār*, kill, S. *han*. In *kshē*, rub, S. *ghṛīsh*, the aspirate *gh* has become hardened before the voiceless spirant *sh*. If *lushtisth*,



to be frost-bitten, has anything to do with S. *dah*, to burn, it must be compared with Prakrit (*vi*)*addha* and not with S. *dagdhá*, i.e. its final consonant is an Aryan *zh* and not a *gh*. Compare spirants below.

Aryan *dh* becomes *d* as an initial; thus, *dum*, smoke, S. *dhūmá*; *dōr*, to endure, S. *dhri*. Similarly *d* represents an Aryan *ddh* in *bidr*, mind, S. *buddhi*. A medial *dh*, preceded by a vowel, by an *n* or an *r*, seems to be regularly dropped; compare *ushā*, medicine, S. *ōshadhi*; *lui*, blood, S. *lōhita*; *gun*, smell, S. *gandhá*; *war*, grow, base *vardh*. Words such as *band*, imprisoned; *andṛ* and *andhar*, dark, are perhaps loan-words; cf. *gun*, smell. I am unable to make anything out of the forms *mish*, *mīsh*, *mizhū*, *mich*, *mij*, *mīju*, *mizhū*, *mijhu*, middle. If they are connected with S. *mādhyā*, Armenian *mēj*, the forms with *sh* and *ch* must be due to misunderstanding or perhaps to a confusion with *mesh*, with. In this connexion I may also mention the curious forms *je*, and, cf. Vedic *ádha*; *jū*, daughter, cf. S. *duhitṛi*; *zū*, milk, cf. S. *dugdhá*; *jijil*, loose, cf. S. *sithilá*, where a dental has apparently been replaced by a *j*. I am not, however, able to explain any of these forms.

An initial Aryan *bh* becomes *b*; thus, *bās*, flame, S. *bhās*; *bū*, to become, S. *bhū*; *bamo*, hornet, cf. S. *bhramará*; *bōr*, load, S. *bhārā*; *brā*, took away, cf. S. *bhṛitá*; *brá*, brother, S. *bhrātri*. In the face of all these forms the isolated *bhīm*, *bhiom*, earth, ground, S. *bhūmi*, cannot be correct, but must owe its *h* to its similarity with the Indian word with which it has unconsciously been confounded in the mind of the hearer.

An Aryan *bh* between vowels apparently becomes *w*, as in Iranian; thus, *āwar*, bring, S. *ā-bhri*; *awīzh*, necessity, S. *\*abhikshā*, cf. *apēkshā*. This *w* has been transferred to the uncompounded base in *wi*, beat, cf. S. *bhid* and Old Slavonic *bi-ti*, beat; *wal*, say, cf. S. *bhaṇ*; cf. also *vrāya*, to get, which perhaps corresponds to S. *abhi-grabh*.



In some cases a medial *bh* has apparently disappeared; compare *garo*, eclipse, S. *grāha*; *guru*, deep, S. *gabhīrā*; *gaiet*, *gaiesth*, to seize; *gaitī*, having taken; *gaiē*, take, cf. S. *grabh*, *grah*.

It will be seen that, on the whole, Bashgalī follows the Iranian languages in discarding the aspiration of stops. We shall see below that the same disaspiration is also carried through in the case of the aspirated Aryan palatal sibilant *zh*.

ARYAN NASALS. The guttural nasal *ñ* in Aryan languages only occurred before gutturals. I have not come across any example which shows how it is treated in Bashgalī if it is followed by a voiceless guttural. A voiced guttural, on the other hand, disappears, and *ñg* becomes *n̄* (written *ng*); thus, *rañ*, colour, S. *raṅga*; *añā*, fire, S. *agni*, cf. *āṅgāra*; *añur*, finger, cf. S. *aṅgūli*; *shīnar*, pretty, S. *śrīṅgāra*. In *anī*, side, *n* is written instead, if this word is connected with S. *āṅga*.

The only instances of an Aryan *ñ* in Bashgalī occur before *ch*, where the nasal seems to be regularly dropped; compare *pōch*, *puch*, *pōj*, five, S. *pāñcha*; *pachits*, fifteen, S. *pāñchadaśa*. The form *pōñj*, five, which occurs in Nos. 69, 969, 1058, is probably a Persian loan-word.

The most common Aryan nasal was the dental *n*. In Bashgalī it remains unchanged as an initial; thus, *nom*, *nām*, name, S. *nāma*; *non*, nine, S. *nava*; *nōn*, mother, cf. S. *nanā*. A single uncompound *n* between vowels is regularly cerebralized, and this cerebral *n* is then written *ñ*; thus, *kār*, blind, S. *kāṇā*; *gār*, count, S. *gaṇ*; *jār*, kill, S. *han*; *zār*, know, S. *jānāti*; *shtār*, to utter inarticulate sounds, S. *stan*; *shtār*, a thief, S. *stēnā*. The cerebralization does not appear to take place if an *r* precedes; compare *dron*, bow, S. *druṇa*; *zarīn*, yellow, S. *hariṇā*; *tarīn*, *tarī*, thorn, cf. S. *trīṇa*. In some cases such an *n* apparently sounds simply as a nasalization of the preceding vowel; compare *dā*, gift, S. *dānā*; *datziē*, right, S. *dākshīṇa*;



*shō*, food, S. *śāna*. Sometimes also *n* is written instead; thus, *zān*, knee, S. *jānu*; *ziān*, damage, harm, S. *jyānti*; and in a few cases *n* and *r* are written in one and the same word; thus, *iārā* and *iānā*, eaten; *parmēr* (*parmir*) and *parmen*, small, boy. It therefore seems as if the sound is not always quite distinct. There cannot, however, be any doubt about the general tendency to cerebralize such an *n*. This is of some interest. We know that in the Indian Prakrits the cerebralization of a dental *n* is a very common feature, and that something still more analogous is found in modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars. Marāṭhī, Rājasthānī, Gujarātī, Pañjābī, and Sindhī have all preserved an initial *n* unchanged, while a single medial *n* becomes an *ṇ*. Dr. Grierson has been good enough to inform me that the pronunciation of this *ṇ* becomes more and more cerebral as we go westwards, and that it goes still further west into Pashtō. In eastern languages, such as Hindī, Bihārī, etc., on the other hand, the cerebral *ṇ* is not used. There is accordingly a parallelism between these Indo-Aryan vernaculars and Bashgalī in this respect. And this parallelism becomes still more significant if we recall the fact that the same Indo-Aryan vernaculars which change a single medial *n* to *ṇ* "have a medial *n* in the place of the double *n* of the Prakrits, resulting from a Sanskrit conjunct of which *n* is a member".<sup>1</sup> The same is the case in Bashgalī; compare *ano*, food, S. *āna*; *man*, mean, S. *manya-*; *vinā*, beaten, cf. S. *bhinna*; *wan*, make, Old Norse *vinna*; *kan*, laugh, Persian خندیدن. We thus see how a phonological tendency spreads over territories which do not all fall under one and the same linguistic family, while, on the other hand, it does not affect all the dialects of the same family.

It has been mentioned above that an old *ṇg* becomes *ṇ* while *ṇch* becomes *ch* in Bashgalī. The obvious inference is that a nasal is dropped before a voiceless stop while it

<sup>1</sup> See Bhandarkar, JBBRAS., xvii, pp. 165 f.



remains before a voiced one, which then itself disappears. This inference is made almost certain by considering the combinations of a dental *n* and a dental stop. *Nt* and *nth* become *t*, while *nd* and *ndh* become *n*; compare *atūr*, lung, S. *antra*; *dutt*, tooth, S. *dānta*; *vosut*, spring, S. *vasantā*; *putt*, road, S. *pānthās*; *kon*, arrow, S. *kāṇḍa*; *dōn*, handle, S. *daṇḍā*; *in(dron)*, Indra (bow), rainbow, cf. S. *indra(-dhanūsh)*; *lon*, slave, Persian *لَو*; *kāno*, tree, S. *skandhā*; *gun*, smell, S. *gandhā*.

The Aryan *m* remains unchanged as initial and as medial; compare *manshī*, man, S. *manushyā*; *nom*, name, S. *nāma*. It is of interest to note that the base *mrū*, to say, which became *brū* in Sanskrit, retains its *m* in Bashgalī; compare *kai mārechī*, what dost thou say? *kai mārṇazushba*, thou wast saying something. *Mbh* becomes *m*; thus, *uzzam*, yawn, S. *viṣṛimbh*; *shlom*, a tree, S. *stambha*.

In all compounds containing a nasal and a voiced consonant the nasal alone remains. This state of affairs is comparable to the disappearance of the last part of consonantal compounds in Caspian dialects.<sup>1</sup>

ARYAN SEMI-VOWELS. The initial Aryan *y* is well preserved in Bashgalī as in non-Persian Iranian languages, while in India it has commonly developed into a *j*. Compare *yūs*, grass, S. *yāvasa*; *yamna*, double, cf. S. *yāma*. As in the Pamir dialects, a *y* is often also used prothetically before initial vowels; thus, *yo*, *eo*, one, Avestan *aēwa*; *yūr*, down, S. *āva*; *yazh*, *iash*, morning, S. *ushās*; *yūsht*, lip, S. *ōshṭha*. Writings such as *zuy*, a yak (Tibetan *gyag*); *zhūtī* and *yūtī*, having eaten, seem to show that the pronunciation of the *y* is rather emphatic. After consonants *ya* is apt to become *i*; thus, *ashi*, mouth, S. *āsyā*; *matsi*, fish, S. *mātsya*.

The Aryan *r* is well preserved; compare *roch*, light, S. *rūchi*; *rañ*, colour, S. *raṅga*; *rōtr*, night, S. *rātri*; *ōr*,

<sup>1</sup> See *Grundriss*, I, ii, p. 354.



chest, S. *úras*; *kur*, ass, S. *khúra*; *dūr*, far, S. *dūrā*; *bōr*, load, S. *bhārā*. A medial or final *r* is, however, liable to be dropped; compare *awē* and *awaṛ*, bring, S. *ā-bhara*; *dū*, door, S. *dvār*; *dār*, *dāo*, wood, S. *dāru*; *sā*, *sai*, *sē*, sun, S. *sāra*; *shai*, *shē*, head, S. *śiras*; *sus*, sister, S. *svāsri*; *shto*, four, S. *chatvāri*. Consonantal compounds containing an *r* are as a rule simplified in such a way that the *r* disappears in Indian languages. In Iranian, on the other hand, the *r* is to a great extent preserved. The same is the case in Bashgali. If the *r* follows a stop, this latter sound is not changed to a spirant as in many Iranian tongues. Compare *chkrī*, a polo ball, cf. S. *chakrā*; *grom*, village, S. *grāma*; *jerik*, shame, S. *hrīka*; *troi*, *trē*, three, S. *trāyas*; *trits*, thirteen, S. *trāyōdaśa*; *atūr*, lungs, S. *antra*; *dron*, bow, S. *druṇa*; *dros*, grape, S. *drākshā*; *prusht*, bed, S. *prastarā*; *prōr*, wound, S. *prahāra*; *brā*, brother, S. *bhrātṛi*. Note also *garo*, eclipse, S. *grāha*; *gaitī*, having seized, cf. S. *grīhītṛā*; *ngā*, take, S. *grah*; *sangā*, hear, S. *saṁ-grah*. It is of interest that the *r* has also disappeared in Balūchī *gipta*, Caspian *gita*, Central dialects *gaft*, seized.

*R* is also retained as the first member of a compound: cf. *drgr*, long, S. *dīrghā*. If the last part of the compound is a dental, it regularly disappears. Compare *krā*, done, S. *kṛitā*; *kaṛo* (and *kato*), knife, Avestan *karsta*; *gūr*, knot; *giran-gusthē*, a knot (but also *gittan-gus*, knotted), cf. S. *grath*; *tār*, ford, S. *tīrthā*, Prakrit *tūha*; *koru*, *kūr*, mud-stream, cf. S. *kardama*; *mar*, shampoo, S. *mard*; *war*, grow, S. *vardh*; *warī*, word, cf. Lat. *verbum*; *kōr*, *kar*, ear, S. *kārṇa*; *por*, leaf, S. *parṇā*; *parī*, full, S. *pūrṇā*; *wishtr*, broad, S. *visṭīrṇa*. In the face of such instances it is probable that *son*, gold, is an Indian loan-word. Similar changes are also found in Iranian languages; cf. *Grundriss*, I, ii, pp. 53, 207, 304, etc.

It is uncertain how the compound *rp* was treated. The only example I have found, *karbosh*, cotton, S. *karpāsa*,



is probably a Persian loan-word. *Rm* seems to become *m*, as in India; cf. *chiom*, leather, S. *chárma*; *bamo*, hornet, cf. S. *bhramara*. *Kār*, want, is therefore probably S. *kāryá*.

*R* is often marked as a cerebral. I am not, however, able to find any rules regulating the matter. Occasionally we find one and the same word written sometimes with an *r* and sometimes with an *ṛ*; thus, *azhir* and *azhiṛ*, hail-storm; *uru* and *urū*, headman; *brá* and *bráṛ*, brother; *brā* and *brāṛ*, took off; *dūr* and *dūrṛ*, bent; *drgr* and *drgrṛ*, long; *badur*, abroad; *badūr*, far off; *korṛ* and *kor*, crow; *marī* and *mārī*, money; *mārī* and *māroī*, stick; *pror* and *prōr*, wound; *shinur* and *shanūr*, pumb; *tarī* and *tarīn*, thorn, etc. Sometimes also *ṛ* interchanges with *t* or *ṭ*; thus, *karō* and *kato*, knife; *per*, *prēt*, and *peṭ*, break; *charṛā* and *chatṭa*, idiot; *rārā*, noise; *raṭṭatt*, barks, etc.

The cerebral *ṛ* occurs in all positions, as an initial, however, only in very few words, viz., *ṛanzann*, he shakes (but *ranzol*, shaking with fever, feverish); *ṛanzāo*, *ṛanzēi*, shake; *raṭṭatt*, he barks; *ṛitī*, yellow. It is used as a final in words such as *atsiṛ*, return; *azhiṛ* and *azhir*, hail (S. *āsāra*); *urṛ*, wing, chakor; *utser*, calf (cf. S. *vatsá*); *ber*, *bēr*, foolish; *kur*, chicken; *kūr*, pigeon; *purṛ*, smallpox; *shir*, crop; *sharṛ*, goat; *shurṛ*, waistband; *tor*, ruin; *war*, see (cf. *όπάω*). In *wideṛ*, fear (No. 458), the *ṛ* probably denotes a very rough *r*; cf. *widerasth*, to fear. The cerebral *ṛ* is also used as a medial between vowels; thus, *āri*, *parmiṛ* and *parmēr*, *marīṛ*, boy (cf. *parmen*, small); *aru*, silver; *arīn*, narrow; *araṛ*, tight; *barā*, plough; *barī*, blacksmith; *boṛ*, *burī*, bread; *duṛa*, *durū*, blunt; *karu*, trunk; *karṛū*, root; *kiṛā*, shield; *parē*, veranda; *pārro*, apple, etc. We also find *ṛ* combined with other consonants; thus, *gidṛ*, sheaf; *kadṛ*, quicksand; *digriṛ*, shirt; *mṛā*, died; *mṛi*, earth; *wotriss*, is lying; *parchē* (and *parchev*), polo-stick, polo; *uderl*, thunder; *arsett*, they are lowing; *kartā*, fat; *shurṭṛ*, sport; *amārṭs*,



pomegranates; *durwā*, musician; *karwā*, strong. An aspirated *r* apparently occurs in *derh*, surprised; *parh*, letter; *wishirworh* (also *wizhirwor*), figure. Such words are, however, scarcely indigenous Bashgali words.

There cannot, after all, be any doubt that Bashgali possesses a cerebral *r*. The use of this sound as an initial and in cases where it must be derived from an Aryan *r* (cf. *azhir*, hail, S. *āsāra*; *war*, see, Greek *ópaw*; *mṛā*, died, base *mṛi*; *mṛi*, earth, S. *mṛid*) shows that it is not comparable with the cerebral *r* of Indo-Aryan vernaculars. In *mṛā*, died, S. *mṛitā*; *mṛi*, earth, S. *mṛid*, we have the same development of a cerebral *r* from *r* and a dental as in Pashtō.

Finally, I may also mention the apparent interchange of *r* or *r̥* and *w*; thus, *wagachī*, *ragachī*, and *awēguchī*, askest; *wasanristai* and *wasnwestai*, they are gathered.

*R* and *l* are, broadly, distinguished as in Indian; compare, however, *welī kshī*, ask for (cf. S. *vṛi*); *aiur*, finger, S. *aṅgūli*; *garak*, neck, S. *gala*; *parch*, burn, S. *plush*; *tur*, weigh, S. *tul*; *kurr*, bald, S. *kulva*, etc. Of compounds containing an old *l* we may note *pilt*, fall, Prakrit *pad*; *wal*, speak, S. *bhaṇ*.

An initial *v* is kept in Bashgali as in Western Indian and non-Persian Iranian dialects, a new example of what we have seen above, that a certain characteristic does not pervade the whole territory of one linguistic family, but does, on the other hand, extend into the area of another family. Compare *wāi*, wind, rheuma, S. *vāyá* or *vāta*; *won*, prepare, S. *van*, Hindi *banānā*; *was*, *wis*, to remain, to spend the night, S. *vas*; *wōs*, day, S. *vāsara*; *wosut*, spring, S. *vasantā*; *wish*, poison, S. *viśha*; *wissī*, *witsī*, twenty, S. *vimśatī*; *vishī*, neighbour, cf. S. *vēśá*; *vēl*, time, S. *vēlā*. The substitution of *b* in *bosut*, spring (No. 831); *ba-ben*, in the forest (No. 129); *bannē tā*, the same (No. 1712), S. *vāna*, is a strong indication that these words are borrowed. If *utsep*, calf, is connected with



S. *vatsá*, we have a case of a kind of *saniprasāraṇa*. It is possible that it is due to the neighbourhood of a sibilant. Similarly, *vi* is apparently dropped in *shuṭṭi*, sport, Persian *bishgard*, Pehlevī *\*vīskurt*; compare also *oshī*, to knit, and S. *vishīv*.

A final *v* and a *v* between vowels and in consonantal compounds regularly disappear; thus, *shī* and *shew*, sew, S. *sīv*; *noi*, new, S. *nāva*; *non*, nine, S. *nāva*; *dar*, brother-in-law, S. *dēcara*; *parōsh*, belt, cf. S. *parivēshṭana*; *shū*, rose, cf. S. *sēvatī*; *tu*, thou, S. *tvam*; *shto*, four, S. *chatvāri*; *-tī*, termination of the gerund, S. *-tvī*; *dū*, door, S. *dvār*; *dū*, *duī*, two, S. *dvau*, *dvē*; *dits*, twelve, S. *dvādaśa*; *dūr*, *dur*, bent, S. *dhvri*; cf. *shū*, *shūs*, breath, life, S. *śvāsa*; *sus*, sister, S. *svāsri*. Similar features are found in Persian<sup>1</sup> and other Iranian languages. In *wā*, down, S. *āva*, a medial *w* has become initial. Another form of this word is *yū*, from *au* (cf. Latin *au*) with a prothetic *y*.

ARYAN SIBILANTS. In the treatment of sibilants the Indian and Iranian branches of the Aryan family have gone widely different ways. In India the number of voiceless sibilants has been reduced to one, and consonantal compounds containing a sibilant are simplified in such a way that the sibilant disappears after aspirating the consonant. The voiced sibilants have disappeared or been changed in various ways. In Iranian languages an unprotected dental *s* becomes *h*; *ś* becomes *s* in non-Persian dialects and *s* or *h* in Persian; *sh* is well preserved; sometimes, however, it is confounded with *s* in non-Persian dialects,<sup>2</sup> and sometimes also in Persian.<sup>3</sup> The sibilants are well preserved in compounds, and the voiced sibilants have not disappeared.

In most of these features Bashgali marches with Iranian as against Indian languages. There is one important exception: the dental *s* is retained and not changed to *h*

<sup>1</sup> *Grundriss*, I, ii, pp. 51, 298.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 416.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86.



as is the case in all Iranian languages.<sup>1</sup> Colonel Davidson does not distinguish more than two voiceless sibilants, a dental *s* and a cerebral or palatal *sh*. The latter sign, however, perhaps denotes two sounds, an *ś* and an *sh*, for we often find *ts* or similar writings instead of an original *ś*. All these sibilants have a strong tendency to be softened, i.e. pronounced with voice. There is, however, in this respect considerable confusion, and the materials available are not sufficient for laying down definite rules in every respect. The difficulty of noting down the sounds of a strange language like Bashgali is so considerable that we cannot expect the orthography in a pioneer work like Colonel Davidson's to give an absolutely adequate image of the actual sounds. Still, it will be possible to define the position of Bashgali within the Aryan family, as evinced by its treatment of the Aryan sibilants, with comparative certainty.

The Aryan *ś* as an initial is represented by a sound which is written *sh*, and which may be a cerebral or a palatal sibilant. Compare *shē*, *shī*, cold, S. *śītá*; *shī*, horn, cf. S. *śrīṅga*, Avestan *srū*, *srwā*, Greek *képas*; *shiāl*, jackal, S. *śrīgālā*; *shālī*, rise, S. *śālī*; *shil*, cold, S. *śitalā*. A voiced *zh* is apparently used instead in *zhī*, black, cf. S. *śyāma*; *zhuchī*, grievest, cf. S. *śuch*. The etymology of these two words is not, however, certain. Instead of *sh* we sometimes also find *ts*; thus, *tsá*, branch, cf. S. *śākhā*; *tsuiē*, empty-handed, S. *śūnyá*; *tsir*, head, S. *śiras*; *tsitt*, dung, cf. S. *śákrít*(?). In addition to *tsir* we also find *sir*, head, and a dental *s* also represents an initial Aryan *ś* in (*host*)*susnī*, a (*hand*)kerchief, but this word is almost certainly a loan-word.

A medial *ś* similarly becomes sometimes *sh*, *zh*, and sometimes *ts*, *ch*, or *s*; compare *kshul*, clever, S. *kúśala*;

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Grierson's remark (*Pisāca Languages*, p. 131) that the preservation of *s* in Iranian is typical of the non-Persian dialects, does not refer to the Aryan *s*, but to the Iranian *s* derived from Aryan *ś*.



*posh*, trap, S. *pāsa*; *sho*, *ishá*, food, S. *áśana*; *nash*, *nazh*, and *nach*, to spoil, to loose, S. *naś*; *dots*, ten, S. *dāśa*; *witsī* and *wissī*, twenty, S. *vinśatī*; *dits*, twelve, S. *dvādaśa*; *trits*, thirteen, S. *tráyōdaśa*, etc.

There are only very few examples in my materials of consonantal compounds of which a palatal *ś* originally formed part. An Aryan *śr* becomes *ch* or *ch* in *achu*, tear, S. *áśru*; *ozham*, to rest, S. *viśram*. *Śv* apparently becomes *shp* (cf. Iranian *sp*); thus, *ushp*, horse, S. *áśva*. In *shū*, *shūs*, breath, sigh (cf. S. *śvas*, *śvāsá*), we probably have a representative of an older *śush*; cf. Balūchī *sāh*.

The cerebral *sh* is very well preserved. Between vowels, however, it often becomes *ch* (also written *j*): thus, *shu*, six, S. *shash*; *shets*, sixteen, S. *śōdaśa*; *kshē*, rub, S. *ghṛish*; *kshō*, drag, S. *kṛish*; *pshī*, grind, S. *pish*; *dush*, fault, S. *dōsha*; *ushā*, *uzhā*, medicine, S. *ōshadhī*; *iasht*, morning, S. *ushás*; *nishī*, *nizhī*, *nijī*, sit, S. *nishīd*; *misho*, *mizho*, *mijo*, lie, cf. S. *mṛishā*. In *tūs*, chaff, S. *tāsha*; *mussā*, *mussu*, *muzza*, mouse, S. *mūshika*, there is apparently a confusion of *s* and *sh*. Similar features are also found in Iranian languages.<sup>1</sup> In *mōsh*, *mōch*, *manchī*, *manjī*, man, S. *manushyā*, the actual sound cannot be fixed with certainty.

As in Iranian tongues, the cerebral *sh* is also generally kept as first part of consonantal compounds. The second component of such compounds, on the other hand, is often dropped, as is also the case in Iranian languages.<sup>2</sup>

An Aryan *ksh* becomes *ch*, *ts* (*tz*), and *sh*, and it does not seem to make any difference whether this *ksh* represents an Indo-European *qs* or *ks*. Compare *achē*, eye, S. *ákshī*, Avestan *ashī*; *kachkruī*, armpit, cf. S. *káksha*, Aw. *kasha*; *uchar*, empty out, S. *ut-kshar*; *marchī* (i.e. *māchī*), honey, *mācherik*, bee, cf. S. *mákshikā*, *mākshika*, Aw. *maχshī*; *īts*, bear, S. *píksha*, Aw. *arasha*; *datziē*, right, S. *dakshīṇa*, Aw. *dashīna*; *aīsh*, investigation,

<sup>1</sup> See *Grundriss*, I, ii, p. 416.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 354, 416.



S. *īkshā*, Aw. *aesha*; *shosh*, witness, S. *sākshīn*; *ashu*, *azhē*, a bull, S. *ukshān*, Aw. *uχshan*; *shā*, night, S. *kshap*, Aw. *χshap*. In *dros*, grape, S. *drākshā*, *s* has been used instead, perhaps under the influence of the preceding *r*.

*Sht* is, as a rule, kept as *sht*; compare *īsh*, spear, S. *īshṭi*; *osht*, *asht*, eight, S. *ashta*; *ushtar*, *shtur*, camel, S. *ūshtra*; *yāsh*, lip, S. *ōshṭha*; *jasht*, *jisht*, eldest, S. *jyēshṭha*; *mīsh*, hilt, S. *mushtī*. The *t* of this compound is occasionally dropped; thus, *jash tōtt*, elder father, paternal uncle (No. 1573), cf. *jasht*, eldest; *parōsh*, belt, cf. S. *parivēshṭana*. In *ptī*, back, S. *pṛishṭhā*, \**pṛishṭhī*, the dropping of the *sh* is due to the shortening of the word caused by the accent. Cf. *bdī*, mind, S. *buddhī*.

*Shp* and *shm* are simplified to *sh* or *zh*; thus, *pish*, *pizh*, flower, S. *pāshpa*; *grīsh*, noon, S. *grīshmā*; *shā*, you, S. *yushmē*, Aw. *χshmā*.

An initial Aryan *s*, which is changed to an *h* in Iranian languages, remains in Bashgali; thus, *so*, well, S. *su*; *sū*, *sūī*, bridge, S. *sētu*; *sū*, *sai*, *sē*, sun, S. *sāra*, *sūrya*; *sain*, army, S. *sēnā*, *sainya*; *sott*, *sutt*, seven, S. *saptā*; *sapits*, seventeen, S. *saptādaśa*. Sometimes, however, it becomes *sh*, i.e. it is treated like the palatal *ś*; thus, *shu*, sew, S. *siv*; *shū*, rose, cf. S. *sēvatī*; *shiāo*, saw, cf. Latin *securis*; *shosh*, witness, cf. S. *sākshīn*.

A final *s* is sometimes dropped; thus, *doī*, *duī*, arm, hand, S. *dōs*, *dōshān*; *shū*, *shūs*, breath, life, cf. S. *śvas*; *iash*, *yazhī*, morning, S. *ushās*; *ōr*, chest, S. *ūras*. Usually, however, a final *s* remains; compare *bās*, flame, S. *bhās*; *dus*, yesterday, S. *hyas*; *kas*, cough, S. *kas*; *mōs*, moon, S. *mās*; *was*, to stay, to spend the night, S. *vas*. The final *s* of the base *as*, to be, occurs in many different forms; compare *edsam*, *adzum*, *ashim*, *assum*, *azzum*, I am; *ashi*, *oshish*, *assī*, *assish*, art; *ass*, *ess*, *oss*, *az*, *azz*, is; *assumish*, *azzamish*, we are; *azār*, you are; *asht*, etc., they are. The commonest forms are *s* and *z*, and, before *i* and *t*, *sh*. It is possible that forms such as *edsam* do not correspond to S. *āsmi*,



but contain an old suffix *sk*; compare Prakrit *achehhai*, is.<sup>1</sup> A medial *s* is treated in the same way, i.e. it is preserved or, before *i*, changed to *sh*, *zh*; thus, *assā*, ashes, S. *āsa*; *wosut*, spring, S. *vasantā*; *oshī*, knit, cf. S. *sīv*; *ushī*, *wizhu*, unsewn, undone of sewing, cf. S. *vi* + *sīv*. We have seen above that an old Aryan palatal sibilant sometimes becomes *ch*. The same is also the case with an old *s*; thus the suffix *si* of the 2nd pers. sing. takes the form *ch* or *chī* in the old (indefinite) present. This *ch* is softened to *j* after *n* and before *b*. In the definite present formed from an old present participle in *t* (Aryan *nt*) and in the past and future tenses the suffix is *sh*; thus. *gūchī*, goest; *enjī*, goest; *gāj-bā*, if thou goest; *ētish*, art going; *gāsh*, wentest; *elosh*, wilt go.

An *s* as first part of a consonantal compound is commonly changed to *sh*, so that we get *sht* for *st* and *shp* for *sp*; compare *ashttrith*, bedding, cf. S. *āstārāṇa*; *dusht*, hand, S. *hāsta*; *prusht*, bed, S. *prasturā*; *shtār*, to utter inarticulate sounds, S. *stan*; *shtār*, thief, S. *stēnā*; *shtrī*, *shtarī*, *ishtrī* (occasionally also *istrī*), woman, S. *strī*; *ushpik*, wasp, cf. Latin *vespa*. As in the case of Aryan *sht*, we sometimes find *sh* alone; thus, *dush* = *dusht*, hand. Sometimes *st* alternates, in the same words, with the more common *sht*; thus, *starak* and *shtarak*, to-day; and the common infinitive suffix *sth*.

In the compounds *sth* and *sm* the sibilant seems to disappear in *attī*, seed, stone, cf. S. *āsthi*; *emā*, we, S. *asmē*. I am not, however, able to lay down rules. Cf. *otisth*, to remain; *oshtasth*, to rise, both of which apparently belong to the base *sthā*, and the forms of the 1st persons of the verb substantive mentioned above.

The history of the compound *sv* is not quite clear. In *sus*, sister, S. *svāsri*, *sva* has become *su*; in *pshu*, sleep, S. *svap*, a comparison of Aw. *hvaŋs* seems to show that the old *sv* has been dropped. If we compare *psūr*,

<sup>1</sup> Pischel, *Grammatik*, § 480.



father-in-law, S. *śvaśura* < *svaśura*, it seems probable that *sv* before a sibilant became *p*. In *yo*, *yot*, self, S. *sva*, Aw. *hvatō*; *yūr*, sunshine, S. *svār*, we find *sva* changed to *yo*, *yū*, where the initial *y* is perhaps prothetic, and this is perhaps the regular development.

The Aryan voiced palatal sibilant *ś* has been confounded with the palatal *j* in India. In modern Persian both *j* and *ś* become *z*, while the two sounds are distinguished as *j* (*zh*) and *z* respectively in non-Persian Iranian dialects. Bashgalī seems to agree with those latter forms of speech; compare *uzzam*, to yawn, S. *vi-jṛimbh*; *zār*, to know, S. *jñā*; *zamān*, son-in-law, Aw. *zāmātar*, S. *jāmātri*; *zān*, knee, Aw. *zānu*, S. *jānu*; *ziān*, damage, harm, Aw. *zyāni*, S. *jyāni*, etc. Instead of *zār*, to know, we also find forms such as *n'zhārtish*, dost not know (No. 611); *n'jārīsam*, I do not know (No. 751); *Imrā jārīann*, God knows (No. 1002); *n'jānīl* (?), not knowing (No. 1080); *nā jānretam*, I do not know (No. 1173); *na jānretish*, dost not know (No. 1176); *na jānramish*, we do not know (No. 1238). If *j* is not here simply a miswriting or due to a confusion with the corresponding Indian word, we must compare the change of an old *ś* or *s* to *ch* mentioned above. A medial *ś* regularly becomes *zh*; compare *wizhanam*, I think, I fear, S. *vi-jñā*; *vizhom* (and *vishtī*), having feigned, cf. S. *vyāja*; *nizhē*, wash, S. *nij*. Also here we sometimes find *j* instead; thus, *ninjō*, wash; *purjanam*, *purzanam*, and *purzhanam*, I think. Such instances must be judged as in the case of an initial *ś*. It must, moreover, be borne in mind that the orthography of Bashgalī is far from being absolutely exact.

The aspirated voiced palatal spirant *śh*, which has become *h* in India, loses its aspiration. As an initial it becomes *z*; thus, *zīm*, snow, S. *himá*; *zira*, heart, S. *hrīdaya*; *zār*, *zīr*, coloured, yellow, S. *hári*. If the *h* in S. *hrīka*, shame, is actually derived from an Aryan



*zh*, the *j* in *jerik*, shame, is comparable to the initial of *jār*, to know, etc.; see above. It is, however, also possible that S. *hrī* represents an Aryan *ghrī* in spite of the phonological difficulties.

As in Persian dialects, we sometimes find *d* instead of *z*; thus, *dus*, yesterday, S. *hyās*; *dusht*, hand, S. *hāsta*. The explanation of *dits*, tongue, S. *jihvā*, Aw. *hizū*, *hizwā*, is not easier than that of other Indo-European words for "tongue".

A medial *zh* is apparently dropped; thus, *ī*, *iā*, *ō*, I, S. *ahām*, Aw. *azem*, Old Pers. *adam*; *prōr*, wound, S. *prachāra*. In *mēh*, mist, dew, hoar-frost (cf. S. *mih*, mist; *mēghā*, cloud), there is apparently an old confusion with the base *mih*, to urinate. The final *h* in *mēh* cannot, in any event, be organic.

### INFLEXION

If we now turn from phonology to grammar there is very little to assist us in our endeavour to define the philological position of Bashgali within the Aryan family. Such characteristics as can be found point to a closer connexion with non-Persian Iranian tongues.

**GENDER.** Colonel Davidson has shown (pp. 1 f. and 7) that there are several remnants of a feminine as distinguished from the masculine, but that the two genders are no more strictly distinguished. Bashgali in this respect occupies a position intermediate between Pashtō and the Pamir dialects, which distinguish two genders, on one side, and Persian and the Caspian dialects, where the distinction of genders has been discarded, on the other.

**NUMBER AND OBLIQUE BASE.** Bashgali possesses two numbers, and the plural is sometimes distinguished by adding the suffix *ān*, *ēn*, *in*, or *an* (Davidson, par. 17), which is well known from Iranian dialects. There are also traces of an oblique base, as in non-Persian Iranian and in Indo-Aryan languages; thus, *manchī-ē tā*, to a man.



In most cases, however, the oblique base is identical with the nominative, as is also the case in Pashtō, the Pamir dialects, and some Central dialects. Whether it has a separate form or not, the oblique is also used to denote the agent with the past tenses of transitive verbs, which are construed passively as in non-Persian Iranian and Indo-Aryan languages; compare *manchī-ē iā ushp brī*, man-by my mare taken, the man took off my mare.

**PRONOUNS.** The common form of the personal pronoun of the 1st pers. sing. is *ī*, *iā*, or *o*, which must be the same word as S. *ahām*, Aw. *azem*, Old Pers. *adam*, Pashtō *za*. It is impossible to tell which of these forms more particularly corresponds to *iā*. Old Pers. *adam* is perhaps the most likely one. There is a fuller Bashgali form *ōts*, I. The final *ts* here probably represents some emphatic particle; compare Gāthā dialect *aschūt*, I. The plural *emā*, we, corresponds to Persian *mā*, Balūchī *mā*, Caspian dialects *amā*, Aw. *ōhmā*. "Thou" is *tū*, *to*, corresponding to Aw. *tū*, *tūm*, Old Pers. *tuvam*, and similar forms in all Iranian and Indo-Aryan languages. The plural form *shā*, you, on the other hand, is again distinctly Iranian; cf. Persian *shumā*, Balūchī *shumā*, Caspian *shamā*, Central dialects *shumō*. Nothing corresponding is found in Indo-Aryan. The pronoun *yū*, *yō*, *yōt* (*zara*), self, corresponds to Persian *χud*, *χod*, Balūchī *vat*, Pamir dialects *χat*, and so forth, while *amo*, own, is perhaps identical with S. *ātmán*.

**PERSONAL TERMINATIONS.** The suffixes added to verbal tenses in order to denote the person are: Singular, 1st pers., *m*; 2nd pers., *sh(ī)*, *ch(ī)*; 3rd pers., *ā*, or no termination. Plural, 1st pers., *mā*, *mish*; 2nd pers., *r*; 3rd pers., *ā*, *d*, *tt*. It will be seen that there are two different forms of the suffix of the 1st pers. pl. The form *mā* is regularly used in the imperative-future and the aorist, the form *mish* in the present, the aorist (which also represents an old present), and in the past tenses.



There cannot, however, be any reasonable doubt that the two forms have been derived from the old terminations of secondary and primary tenses, Aryan *ma* and *masi*, respectively. The use of the "primary" suffix *mish* in the past tenses is easily explained if we remember that a form such as *gāmish*, we went, is derived from the past participle and corresponds to a Sanskrit *gatāḥ smaḥ*. The termination of the 2nd pers. pl. is more difficult. The *r* of forms such as *būr*, you are, must be derived from a single *n*, and the termination perhaps corresponds to Vedic *tana*. Compare however, the enclitic pronoun *tān* of the 2nd pers. pl. in Persian, Caspian, and Central dialects, and the verbal terminations *-inī*, *-on*, *-in* in the 2nd pers. pl. in Caspian dialects. The 3rd persons singular and plural are constantly confounded. The termination *ā* is probably derived from the suffix of some participle. The termination *d* only occurs in a certain form of the present in which personal suffixes are added to a participle ending in *n*; thus, *end*, they go; *bund*, they become. It is hardly possible to derive this *nd* directly from Aryan *nt* (Persian *nd*), which would give *t* or *tt* in Bashgali. This suffix is probably represented by Bashgalī *tt* in forms such as *zārtett*, they know. It seems, however, as if a Bashgalī *t*, derived from *nt* or from other compounds, undergoes a secondary softening to *d* after nasals. Thus the termination of the gerund is *tī* (Aryan *-tvī*); compare *katī*, having done. After an *n*, however, we find *dī* instead; thus, *achūndī*, having run. It is therefore possible that the termination *nd* is derived from *n + t*, where the *t* is the representative of the Aryan suffix *nt*.

The personal terminations in Bashgalī are more in accordance with the old Aryan suffixes than is the case in other Iranian and Indo-Aryan languages at the present day. The preservation of both the primary and the secondary suffix of the 1st pers. pl. is, in this respect, of especial interest. On the other hand, Bashgalī agrees with



Iranian in using the personal suffixes, not only to denote the subject, but also to mark other syntactic relations such as the direct and indirect object.

**VERBAL FORMS.** The usual form of the infinitive ends in *sth*; thus, *osth*, to come; *kusth*, to do. It must probably be compared with the Persian infinitive in *-istan*, which has been explained<sup>1</sup> as a compound form containing an infinitive of the base *as*, to be. A shorter infinitive, corresponding to the Persian infinitivus apocopatus, is identical with the base, or, if the negative *na* follows, it also often ends in *n*. This form is commonly used in connexion with the verb *busth*, to become, to be able, just as the Persian infinitivus apocopatus is used with *shāyaḍ*, it is possible, and *bāyaḍ*, it is wanted. Compare *na pā bann*, he cannot go; *pshō-n n'battam*, I cannot sleep. The final *n* of some of these forms is perhaps only a duplicate of the initial *n* of the negative *na*.

In the formation of tenses Bashgalī has struck out lines much similar to those followed in India. With one single exception all the tenses are formed from participles. The exception is a form in which personal terminations are added directly to the base. Compare *gū-m(-bā)*, (if) I go; *gū-j(-bā)*, (if) thou goest; *gū-mish(-bā)*, (if) we go, etc. This form is used as a conjunctive present, as an aorist, and as an imperative. Other tenses are formed from participles, and the number of such participles is comparatively great. As in Indian languages, there is a gerund or conjunctive participle. It is formed by adding *tī* or, after nasals, sometimes *dī*; thus, *bitī*, having become; *gitī*, having gone; *wītī*, beating, etc. It is probably connected with Vedic *tvī*. In some few cases we find a gerund ending in *m*; thus, *achūnam iē*, running go, go quickly; *bo-m azzībā*, becoming be-if, if we become. Compare the corresponding gerund ending in *am* in Old Sanskrit.

<sup>1</sup> See *Grundriss*, I, ii, p. 142.



The most common present participle ends in *l* or *n*; compare *mrl*, dying; *piltıl*, falling; *yül*, eating; *otin*, remaining; *tin pin*, wine-drinking, drunkard. The forms ending in *l* and *n* are often used promiscuously; compare *yül-azzam* and *yün-azzam*, I was eating. It is therefore likely that they are identical. In that case we may perhaps compare the substitution of *l* for *n* in Pashtō in words such as *dzał* and *jan*, girl,<sup>1</sup> and the interchange of *l* and *n* in Indo-Aryan vernaculars.<sup>2</sup> This, then, would furnish a new example of a phonetical tendency affecting both Indo-Aryan and Iranian vernaculars. This participle is used to form a present, an imperfect, and a future. Compare *yū-n-am*, I eat; *yū-l-ai*, they eat; *ku-n-am* and *ku-l-om*, I do; *yū-n-azzam* and *yū-l-azzam*, I was eating; *yū-l-om*, I shall eat; *ku-l-om*, I shall do. It will be seen that both the form ending in *l* and that ending in *n* are used in the present and in the imperfect. The *n*-form is, however, here most usual, while only the *l*-form seems to be used in the future. This state of affairs can scarcely be anything but a secondary arrangement, and it seems allowed to assume that *n* and *l* are originally one and the same suffix.<sup>3</sup> If so, it cannot be derived from Aryan *nt*, which becomes *tt* or *t*. It is also doubtful whether it can be the old Aryan *-āna-*, *-ana-*, because, in that case, we would certainly expect to find, at least occasionally, a cerebral *n* (written ~ *r*). With verbs meaning "to go" the *n*-suffix is often used to form a kind of passive; thus, *peron-gā*, broken went, was broken; *waron-end*, seen go, are visible. This would point to a connexion with *-āna-*, *-ana-*, or perhaps with Latin *-ndus*. The latter explanation would be in best

<sup>1</sup> *Grundriss*, I, ii, p. 208.

<sup>2</sup> Grierson, *ZDMG.*, vol. 1, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> An *l*-suffix is also used to form participles in the language called "Tocharisch" by Messrs. Sieg & Siegling, *Sitzungsberichte der Preuss. Akademie*, 1908, vol. xxxix, p. 926, and in Slavonic.



accord with Bashgalī phonology, for, as we have seen, *nd* regularly becomes *n*.

Another present participle ends in *k* or *g*; thus, *áo pi-k* (or *pi-g*), water-drinking, thirsty; *pshui-k*, sleeping, sleepy. It seems to indicate inclination. Formally it is identical with Persian *-ā*, Pehlevī *-āk*.<sup>1</sup>

A third present participle formed with a suffix *tt* or *t* only occurs in a compound present; thus, *mṛē-t-am*, I die; *mṛē-tt*, dies; *mṛe-tt-ett*, they die. This seems to be the regular representative of the old Aryan participle ending in *-nt*.

The past participle passive ends in *ā* or *a*; thus, *uttā*, left; *jāra*, killed; *kṛā*, done. It certainly contains the old *ta*-suffix. In *winā*, beaten, we apparently have an *n*-suffix; compare S. *bhinnā*. It also occurs in *iyārā*, *iyānā* = *iyā*, eaten, where it has been added to the old participle in *ā*. Compare Aryan *na*. This participle is used to form the past tenses; thus, *gā-mish*, we went; *mṛ-issam*, I had died. The pronominal terminations denoting the subject are only added in intransitive verbs. With transitives they denote the object; thus, *iā tū ē tang ptā-sh*, I thee one rupee gave-thee, thou wast given one rupee by me. In the *paradigms* in Colonel Davidson's book, it is true, the personal terminations are also added in transitive verbs; thus, *ptā-sh*, gavest. This is not, however, in accordance with the practice in the *sentences*. There cannot, therefore, be any doubt that the past tenses of transitive verbs are passives in Bashgalī as in non-Persian Iranian and in Indo-Aryan vernaculars.

POSITION OF BASHGALĪ WITHIN THE ARYAN FAMILY. The preceding remarks will have shown that Bashgalī agrees with Iranian languages in most important points, such as the treatment of the Aryan vowels, especially of *ri*; the absence of aspirated sounds; the distinction made between the voiced Aryan palatals and

<sup>1</sup> *Grundriss*, I, i, pp. 278, 306; ii, pp. 146, 172.



sibilants and the retaining of the latter as sibilants; the non-development of a separate cerebral *varga* from the dentals; the preservation of numerous consonantal compounds, and so on. All these are of the greatest importance, and some of them, such as the disaspiration and the preservation of voiced sibilants, have from the oldest times been the chief distinguishing features of Iranian languages as compared with Indian. I may add some less important features in which Bashgali agrees with Iranian, and especially with non-Persian languages. Such are the preservation of the old semi-vowels *y* and *v*; the weak sense of gender; traces of a separate oblique base and of the same plural termination as is used in Iranian; the passive construction of the past tenses of transitive verbs. The last-mentioned feature is also characteristic of Indo-Aryan vernaculars. One important feature Bashgali shares with the Indian branch of the Aryan family, viz. the preservation of the old dental sibilant *s*. If we abstract from this, it will be seen that all other points of agreement between our language and Indo-Aryan belong to later stages of development, when the Aryan family had long ago split up into two branches. The most important ones are the development of a cerebral *ṇ* from a single medial dental *n*, which Bashgali shares with Western Indo-Aryan, and the general use of participles in the formation of verbal tenses. Such points of agreement would be quite natural even if Bashgali were a pure Iranian language, for grammatical tendencies are not restricted to the area of one single language, but often extend beyond its limits. It must be remembered that up to the fifteenth century Indian tribes and Indian civilization extended up to the very borders of Kāfiristan. If it were not for the preservation of the old dental sibilant, I do not think that anybody would hesitate to class Bashgali as an Iranian form of speech. The few instances in which



Bashgalī can be compared with European languages, such as the words *ut*, to use, Latin *utor*; *ushpik*, wasp, Latin *vespa* (cf. Balūchī *gvabz*); *wāo*, grandfather, Latin *avus*; *mī*, self, Latin *met*; *p*, *b*, on, Greek *ἐπί*; *wa-nam*, take, Gothic *nima*; and perhaps the *n*-participle, Latin *-ndus*, are too insignificant to affect the classification. They must all be considered as inherited from Indo-European times, though they have not survived or have not been discovered in other Aryan forms of speech.

The preservation of the Aryan dental *s* has usually been considered as one of the chief characteristics which distinguishes the Indian from the Iranian branch. It is, however, evident that the substitution of *h* for *s* must have spread gradually, and did not from the beginning affect the whole Iranian area. It would therefore be quite allowed to assume that there did, at some remote period, exist dialects which in every other respect were Iranian, but which did not change the old *s* to *h*. If such dialects could be proved to have existed, they would be just what is wanted in order to explain the curious intermediate position of Bashgalī. Now I think it possible to show that such has really been the case, that we possess information of an old Iranian dialect which had preserved the old Aryan *s* as in India. I refer to the language from which the names of the Mitani gods have been taken.

In a treaty between the Mitani king Mattiuaza and the Hittite king Subbiluliuma brought to light by Professor Winckler, the deities of the two countries are invoked as protectors of the treaty. Among the Mitani gods we now find the following:—<sup>1</sup>

*ilāni mi-it-ra-aš-ši-il ilāni u-ru-w-na-aš-ši-el* (var. *a-ru-na-aš-ši-il*)

*ilu in-dar* (var. *in-da-ra*) *ilāni na-ša-a[t-ti-ia-a]n-na*.

<sup>1</sup> Winckler, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, No. 35, Dezember, 1907, p. 51.



It is now commonly recognized that this list contains the names of the well-known Vedic gods Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and the Nāsatyas, which must accordingly have been worshipped in Mesopotamia in the fourteenth century B.C. The first three names can be Iranian as well as Aryan; the fourth one, *na-ša-at-ti-ia*, with its *š*, militates against the rules of Iranian phonology, the Avestan form of this word being *nānhaipia*. Professor Eduard Meyer<sup>1</sup> therefore maintains that "the Aryans who pushed forward to the Euphrates and to Syria in the fifteenth century or earlier, did not speak Iranian but Aryan", and he remarks that "the gods which the inhabitants of the Panjab worshipped as their principal deities in Vedic times are here met with, four hundred miles farther to the west, as the gods of the Aryans of Mitani. The differentiation only took place later on, principally as a result of the appearance of the prophet Zarathustra". He is accordingly of opinion that the gods in question were common Aryan gods, and the language from which they have been taken common Aryan, and neither Iranian nor Indian. This is also the opinion of Professor Oldenberg,<sup>2</sup> and apparently also of Mr. Keith.<sup>3</sup> Professor Jacobi,<sup>4</sup> on the other hand, thinks that the Mitani gods were Vedic, and had been brought to Mitani from Eastern Iran, where they must have been adopted from India about the sixteenth century. According to him, therefore, the language in question should be characterized as Indian. Now it seems impossible to answer the question about the language from which the names of the Mitani gods have been taken without considering the nationality of the Mitani chiefs of Aryan race. Names of Aryan chieftains are, as is well known, found in Cuneiform

<sup>1</sup> *Sitzungsberichte der K. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1908, vol. i, pp. 14 ff.; *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, vol. xlii, pp. 24 ff.

<sup>2</sup> JRAS., 1909, pp. 1095 ff.    <sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 1100 ff.    <sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 721 ff.



inscriptions from very early times. Many such names are found in the Tell-el-Amarna letters; thus, *Artamanya* ('Αρταμένης), chief of Ziribašani, probably about Basan; *Bawarzana* or *Ma<sup>h</sup>warzana* (or perhaps *Mayarzana*), chief of Hazi, probably to the north of Palestine; *Šubandu* or *Šubandi*, from Philistæa (cf. S. *Subandhu*); *Šuwardata*, the adversary of Abdihiba of Jerusalem (cf. S. *Swardatta*); *Šutarna* or *Šuttarna*, chief of Mušihuma, probably in Northern Palestine; *Yašdata* or *Wašdata*, probably from the neighbourhood of Megidda; *Zirdamiašda*, probably from Northern Palestine, and so forth. The name of the Kassitic sun-god *Šuriasš* (cf. S. *sūrya*) points to a similar Aryan element to the east of Babylonia. It will be seen that forms such as *arta-*, *-warzana*, *zirda-*, *-miašda*, and probably also *-data* are Iranian and not Aryan, while the use of an *š* corresponding to Aryan *s* can be both Aryan and Indian. The names of the Mitani kings are of the same kind. They are *Sa-uš-ša-tar*, *Artatama*, *Šuttarna*, *Dušratta* (or *Tušratta*), *Artasšumara* (or *Artasšuwara*), and *Mattiwaza*. Of these, *Sa-uš-ša-tar* must correspond to an Indian \**Saukshatra*, and the final portion of the name is *šatar* = Old Pers. *xšapra*, which, again, is Iranian and not Aryan. *Artatama* has been explained as a superlative of the Old Pers. *arta*. *Tama* can, however, also be derived from a base *tam*. The Indian Dhātupāṭha knows such a base *tam*, to desire. The initial *duš* of *Dušratta* is Aryan or Iranian; *ratta* may correspond to S. *rātha* (cf. *Zurata* or *Šarātum*, chief of Akko). Scheftelowitz compares S. *raddha*. *Uaza* in *Mattiwaza* (S. *māti-vāja*?), again, is Iranian.<sup>1</sup> I think that the explanation of these facts has been given by Professor Bloomfield,<sup>2</sup> who considers it possible that

<sup>1</sup> Names such as *Mattiwaza*, *Biriawaza*, *Namiawaza*, which all occur in Cuneiform documents, betray the same interest in races which is so well known from Vedic India.

<sup>2</sup> "On some alleged Indo-European Languages in Cuneiform Character": *American Journal of Philology*, vol. xxv, pp. 1 ff.



"the Mitani and other Western Asiatic Iranoid proper names came from a dialect closely allied to Iranian but not yet exactly Iranian, i.e. a dialect which did not change *s* to *h*". It seems as if the change of *s* to *h* is not so old as the other Iranian characteristics. It only began after the Iranian branch had separated itself from the common Aryan stock, and did not at once spread over the whole Iranian area. If so, the names of the Mitani gods do not prove anything as to whether they had been inherited from the Aryan period or imported from India. The language from which they have been taken does not differ from the language which has furnished the names of the Mitani kings, and that form of speech was neither Aryan nor Indian, but Iranian. This conclusion is now considerably strengthened by the state of things in modern Bashgali. I hope to have shown that we have here, at the present day, a form of speech which in phonology is mainly Iranian, but does not change *s* to *h*. It seems necessary to infer that Bashgali is the modern representative of an Iranian language, the oldest traces of which are found in the names of the Mitani chiefs and other chieftains known from Cuneiform inscriptions. This language was more closely connected with Old Persian than with Avestan, but differed from both in retaining the old Aryan *s*. It must have been distributed over a wider area<sup>1</sup> than at the present day, where it is represented by Bashgali and connected dialects. The change of *s* to *h* must then have spread gradually over most of the Iranian area, just as we see the change of the Aryan *ś* (Iranian *s*) to Old Pers. *θ*, New Pers. *h*, spreading over part of the territory occupied by Iranian tongues.

The tribes who spoke this old Iranian dialect worshipped gods which are well known from India—Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and the Nāsatyas. It is of peculiar interest to note

<sup>1</sup> The Mordwin loan-word *azor*, *azoro*, lord, has been borrowed from such a form of speech.

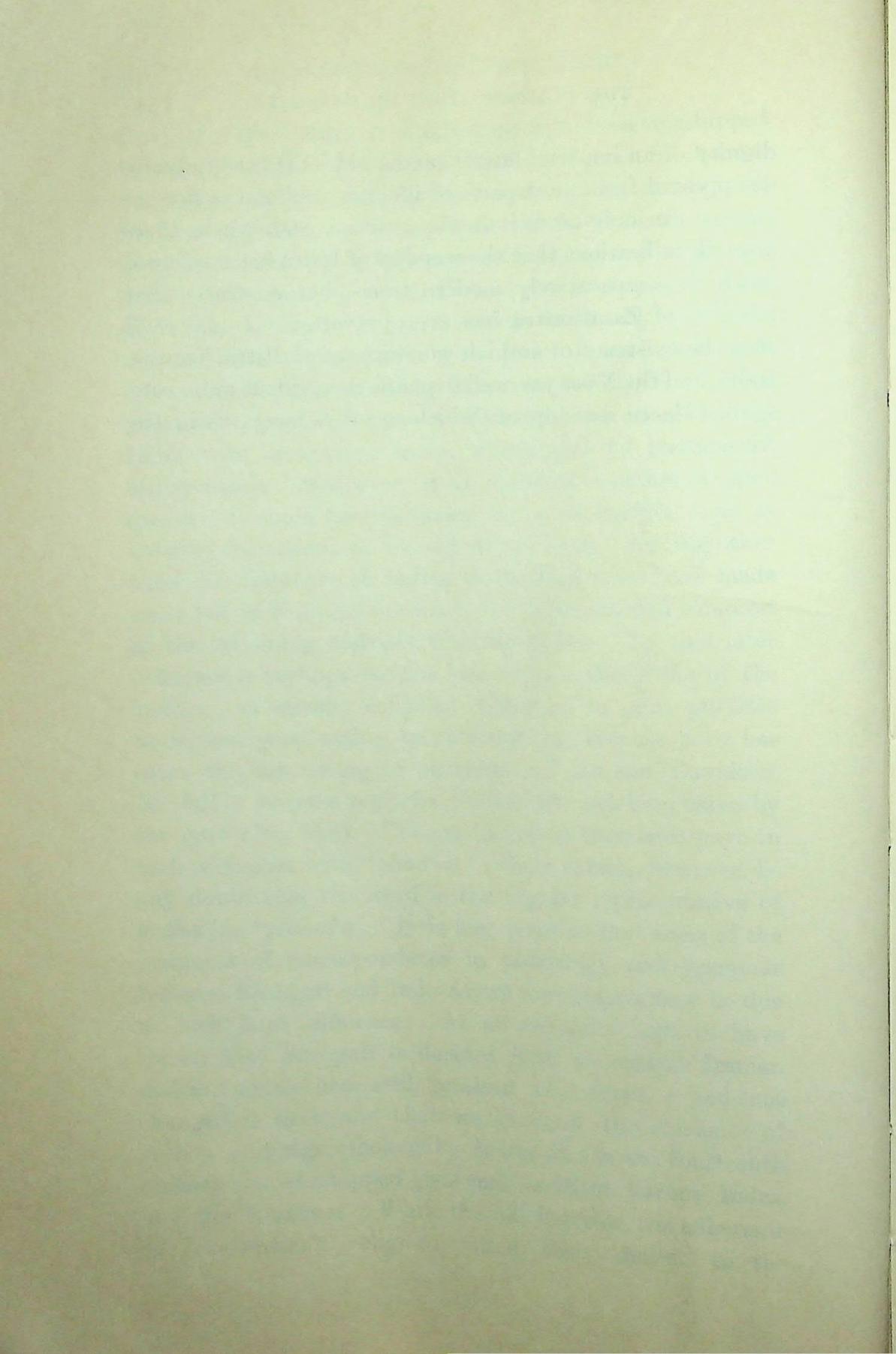


that one of these gods, viz. Indra, must have been worshipped by the Bashgalis. I infer this from words such as *indrōn*, a rainbow, and perhaps *indrish*, *indrisht*, an earthquake. *Indrōn* can scarcely be anything but *in-drōn*, the *drōn*, bow, of *in*, and *in* would regularly correspond to an old *Indra*. Compare S. *indra-dhanús*, *indra-chāpa*, the bow of Indra, rainbow. It is, of course, impossible to decide whether this acquaintance with Indra is an inheritance from ancient times or a later loan from India. The former alternative would be quite possible when we consider that Indra was, in ancient times, worshipped by Iranians in Mesopotamia. Moreover, it is doubtful whether a later loan-word would have assumed the same modern form as a direct descendant of the old Aryan name. On the other hand, the influence of Indian civilization must have made itself felt in Kāfiristan down to the Mohammedan conquest of the adjoining districts towards India. To this later influence is perhaps due the idea of *garo*, the *grāha* of the Indians, as causing eclipses. Compare *sū garo yaristhē dugā*, sun *garo* eating on-account-of, because *garo* has eaten the sun, owing to an eclipse of the sun (Davidson, No. 325); *sū garo n'yāriss*, the sun has not been eaten by the *garo* (No. 406). Colonel Davidson translates *garo* in such sentences with "shadow"; there cannot, however, be any doubt that the word is the regular representative of *grāha* (or *\*grahaka*). It is also possible that some of the instances of correspondence in phonology and grammar between Bashgali and Indo-Aryan vernaculars may be due to such later influence. At all events, I hope to have shown that Bashgali is derived from an ancient Iranian dialect, which had still retained the Aryan *s* and not changed it to *h*, and that we know of the existence of such a language, spoken by tribes who in the fourteenth century B.C. worshipped gods such as Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and the Nāsatyas. While the old Persians, the adherents of Zarathustra's religion, raised their dialect to the



dignity of an imperial language, the old *s*-dialect gradually disappeared from most parts of its area, and at the present day we can only trace it in the extreme east, where there are still indications that the worship of Indra has continued down to comparatively modern times, but no traces that the law of Zarathustra has ever prevailed. I may add that the existence of Iranian worshippers of Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and the Nāsatyas well explains the evident animosity against *daeva* worshippers which so often meets us in the Avesta.







**PUBLICATIONS OF THE  
CENTRE OF CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES,  
UNIVERSITY OF KASHMIR, SRINAGAR.**

<b>S. No.</b>	<b>TITLE</b>	<b>AUTHOR</b>
1.	Historical Geography of Kashmir	<i>Prof. S. Maqbool Ahmed &amp; Dr. Raja Bano.</i>
2.	Manazil-i-Bukhara	<i>Dr. Iqtidar Hussain Siddiqui</i>
3.	Marghoob Theory	<i>Prof. Marghoob Banihali</i>
4.	A Short History of Chinese Turkistan	<i>Prof. Abdul Majid Mattoo</i>
5.	Kashmir under the Mughals	<i>Prof. Abdul Majid Mattoo</i>
6.	Ladakh Life and Culture	<i>Editor Dr. K.N. Pandita</i>
7.	Kashmir Shawl	<i>Dr. K.N. Pandita</i>
8.	History and Culture of Ancient Gandhara and Western	<i>Dr. B. K. Kaul Deambi</i>
9.	Cropus of Sharda Inscriptions of Kashmir	<i>Dr. B. K. Koul Deambi</i>
10.	Kashmir and Centre Asia	<i>Editor Dr. B.K. Koul Deambi</i>
11.	Handlist of Sanskrit Manuscripts	<i>Dr. B.K. Koul Deambi</i>
12.	Budhist Savants of Kashmir	<i>Advait Vadini Koul</i>
13.	Brokpas of Ladakh	<i>Dr. M. Iqbal Nazki</i>
14.	Handlist of Persian and Arabic Manuscripts	<i>Ghulam Rasool Bhat</i>
15.	Documentation of Central Asia Vol. I & Vol. II	<i>Reyaz Rufai</i>
16.	Muslim Law and Customs in Kashmir	<i>Hakeem Imtiaz Hussain</i>
17.	Early Terracotta Art of Kashmir	<i>Aijaz A. Bandey</i>
18.	Regional Geography of Central Asia	<i>Dr. G. M. Mir</i>
19.	A Comparative Study of Cereal Crop Echography of J & K. State and Tajikistan	<i>Dr. A. R. Shah</i>
20.	Documentation on Central Asia Vol. III	<i>Reyaz Rufai</i>
21.	Tarik-i-Kashmir of Sayid Ali	<i>Ghulam Rasool Bhat</i>
22.	Descriptive Catalogue of Persian and Arabic Manuscripts	<i>Prof Abdul Majid Mattoo</i>



# دی جنرل آف سنٹرل اسٹین سٹیڈیز

نمبر ۱

۱۹۹۴

جلد ۵

مدیرِ اعلیٰ  
عبدالحمید متو

مدیر  
گلشن مجید

معاون مدیر مشتاق احمد کاو۔ ریاز رفاعی ۔ اعجاز اے۔ بانٹے

وسطی ایشیائی مطالعاتی مرکز  
دانشگاہ کشمیر، سرینگر



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

١٩٨١

الحمد لله

الذي هدانا لهذا

هذا الذي كنا في شك من

الذي هدانا الله

إلى هذا



# شرح حال و آثار و ارزیابی انتقادی سبک شعر ملا ساطع کشمیری

دکتر محمد صدیق نیازمند

سرزمین کشمیر از نظر رشد زبان و ادبیات فارسی بسیار بارز و رزخیز بوده است. این زبان شیرین در عهد پادشاهان کشمیری که اولین خانواده پادشاهان مسلمان محلی آن دیاری باشند، مقارن با عهد تیموریان و در ایران به آن خط و خطی پذیرا بود و در عهد پادشاهی سلطان زین العابدین (پدشاه - شاه کبیر) این زبان بر سمیت شناخته شد و حتی دیری نگذشت که بجای زبان سانسکریت را که زبان رسمی این دیار بود، گرفته بدین متوال زبان فارسی اولین بار در کشمیر بعنوان زبان اداری و درباری رائج گشت. در طول مدت شش قرن اخیر یعنی از ۲۵۰ هجری قمری تا نیمه دوم سده چهاردهم هجری قمری در جنبه های گوناگون از شعر و سخن و علوم و ادبیات گرفته تا طلب و نجوم و هنر و شخصیت های برگزیده بوجود آمد و تمام اینها انگیزه های خود را باین زبان شیوا برآوردند. در بار مغلان گورکانی هند از نظر تقویت شعر و بزرگترین تربیت گاه شاعران این عصر، یکی از دوره های بسیار پر ارج بشمار میرود. زیر اشعاران نامدار و نثر نویسندگان چابک دست در همین عصر بوجود آمدند. از نمونه های برجسته نثری و شعری آنها می توان باین نکته پی برد که یکی از سبک ها در روش های دینیه این عصر که بنام سبک هندی موسوم است، در هند استحکام پذیرفت و با وجود خود رسید تا گفته نگذیریم که بعلت یورشهای پی در پی ارتش مغول کشمیر در سال ۹۹۴ هجری قمری استقلال خود را در زمان فرمانروایی اکبر شاه گورکانی از دست داد و بعنوان یکی از ایالت ها به هند منسلک گردید. چون مختصر بیان مغول به کشمیر آمد و شد داشته اند و در نتیجه آن شاعران فارسی گوی کشمیر تحت تاثیر شاعران دربار مغول قرار گرفتند، لذا در نتیجه تاثیر پذیری و آمیزش با شاعران دربار مغول سبک هندی مزبور که در هند نفوذ فوق العاده پیدا کرده بود و برای شاعران این دیار بسکلی تازه و نووار و دودور سبک و تقلید شاعران کشمیری نثر از نو گرفت. شاعرانی مانند ظهیر کشمیری، فانی کشمیری، غنی کشمیری، جویا و گویا پیدا شدند که سبک هندی را پیروی نموده اند. ملا ساطع کشمیری یکی از شاعران همین دسته بوده است که در اشعار خود پیروی از سبک هندی نموده و با پشت کاری فوق العاده و به نیت خود یکی از شاعران ممتاز این سبک در آمده است. استاد یار - مکرده فارسی - دانشکده ادبیات علوم انسانی - دانشگاه کشمیر



و بعنوان ستاره درخشان در آسمان ادب فارسی درخشید.

سندکره نویسیان رایج به اسم ساطع اختلاف نظر دارند. گروهی از تذکره نویسان دیراینام ابو الحسن یاد میکنند<sup>۱</sup> و دسته دیگر از تذکره نویسان اسم دیرالملک عبدالحکیم نوشته اند. محمد اعظم دیده مری صاحب وقایع کشمیر، که با ساطع روابط دوستانه و صمیمانه داشته است و تقریباً بیست سال از عمر وی استفاده علمی می کرده است (بعلاوه در اغلب اوقات از وی اصلاح شعر هم می گرفت) می نگارد که اسمش عبدالحکیم بوده است<sup>۲</sup> اصلح میرزا مولف تذکره شعرا می کشمیر که خود را بعنوان شاگرد ساطع معرفی نموده است، نتایف میکند که اسم ساطع مثلاً عبدالحکیم است<sup>۳</sup> اینک بعضی از تذکره نویسان دیرالملک ابو الحسن می پندارند که کنیت وی است نه اسم وی، در حالیکه در نتایف این امر مایل و پیراهین قاطعی بدست نداریم.

همانطور که تذکره نویسان درباره اسم ساطع با هم اختلاف نظر دارند، درباره اسم پدر ساطع هم ما بهین مشکلات رو برو هستیم. بعضیها اسم پدر ساطع، ملا محمد علی کشمیری نوشته اند و صورتیکه محمد اعظم دیده مری و بعضی از تذکره نویسان و مؤرخان ساطع را البیر ملا غالب می پندارند<sup>۴</sup>.

ساطع جطور ایام کودکی خود را البیر برده، مادر باره آن اطلاع قاطعی بدست نداریم و بد رستی نمی توان حدس زد که شاعری چشتم بهمان گذشته است. اطلاعاتی که درباره ایام کودکی و طالب علمی وی بدست می رسد این است که وی تفصل علم می کرد و طبع موزون داشت. شعر می گفت و در وهله اول شاکردی لاله ملک شهید اختیار نمود. بهین تربیت استاد در کمترین زمان در این فن نتایج پیدا کرد. حتی در فن شعر کوی چنان پیش رفت نمود که لاله ملک شهید خود را شالسته تربیت او نیافته، او را بخدمت میرزا داراب جو یا فرستاد. بهین سخن ساطع شاکردی جو یا را اختیار نمود و ساطع یکمک و معاونت میرزا داراب در جلسه ها و محافل علمی و ادبی آن زمان شرکت می جست. محبت و محالست یا استاد و بعضی از استادان معاصر آن روزگار طبع موزون ساطع را جلا بخشید و وی در شعر کوی برقی نمایان کرد و در اقصای خود فائق شد<sup>۵</sup>. ساطع درباره استاد خود و نیز در مورد نکته نجی خود که از وی اخذ نموده است می گوید:

مرا جویند استادان ز بهر نکته سخندان  
همین پس بخت ساطع که جو یابو د استادم<sup>۶</sup>

### ممدوحان ساطع

ساطع در کشمیر زندگانی خود را با نهایت فقری گذراند؛ لذا مسافرت به پیشاد ر نمود تا کسب معاش کند. در اثنای راه با ملا محمد سعید اشرف که یکی از شاعران بنام روزگار خود بوده است ملاقات نمود. چون



طبع ملّا را موزون و ویراد شعر گوئی استاد یافت شاگردش اختیار نمود و اصلاّح شعر از وی گرفت ۸- پس  
دوم عالمیکه محمد معظم در آن روزگار ناظم لیا و در بود. وی هم شعر شناس بود و هم شاعران و سخن سرایان را بسیار دوست  
می داشت بساطع این موقّع را عنایت نمود. اول تقرب اسلام خان که میر آتش محمد معظم شاه بهادر بود، پیدا کرد و بعد  
برفاقت وی به دیار شاه بهادر پیوست و رساله تحقیری بنام گلشن اسلام به نشر فارسی یا سلم اسلام خان نوشت ۹- ساطع  
بیشتر قصائد خود را بمدح همین اسلام خان سروده است. اینک نمونه هائی از آن در اینجائی آوریم.

- ۱- اسلام خان بهادر عالی جناب را  
زیبا بود ز حلقه چشم ظفر رکاب ۱۰  
۲- من از نواب عالی و دودمان اسلام خان گفتم  
که آمد آسمان باماه عید از صبه همه سیالیش ۱۱  
۳- یعنی آن نواب عالی و دودمان اسلام خان  
کز مجید همیش گردون بود کم از حباب ۱۲

ساطع از اسلام خان منور و احسان فرادان دیده است. خودی گوید  
گر چه فیض مهر بکمان میرسد ذرات را  
ساطع مادیده از نواب احسان بیشتر  
و قتیکه عالمیکه فوت نمود محمد معظم بنام قطب الدین محمد معظم بهادر شاه ۱۳- بر تخت سلطنت هند جلوس نمود. شعر  
ساطع پیش از پیش رونق یافت و بدر باروی منسلک شد. قطب الدین محمد معظم بهادر شاه ۱۹ ماه محرم ۱۱۲۴  
قمری فوت نمود و بعد از هر چه در مجرای بسیار که نه ماه طول کشید فرخ سیر پادشاهی یافت ۱۲- ساطع ببنوان رسید  
تقرب و انعام و بخشش در مدح وی نیز شکر گفته و بمرن وی رسانده است بجلاده ساطع سه مثنوی مختصر را نیز  
از نظر همین پادشاه گزراینده و جایزه های فاخر بدست آورده است. اشعار زیر که بمدح این پادشاه از کلیات  
ساطع برگزیده شده است بهترین دلیل برای این امر می باشد.

- بدیوان می برم شعر بلند  
ز توصیف شنه اقبال مندی  
زبان پیوسته میگردد لبکامم  
ز دغش شارب سامم  
شهر فرخ سیر غازی جیحاه ۱۶  
بدرگاه شهنشاه حق آگاه

بیکام ساطع مدح سرانجام  
بیاساطع زبان رنگین بیان کن  
بدرگاه آنکه آمد در شهبان طاق  
ز مهر و مه ستاند تاب شهبان  
بجو دست شاه آمد گوهر افشان  
زبان گو یاست بهر شکر انعام  
رگ ایرتلم گوهر فشان کن  
شهر فرخ سیر غازی آفاق  
که برد این سر نزار از امر المبرج  
فلک که دید سر تا پای دامان ۱۷



در میان ممدوحان ساطع بایده عبد العظیم خان و رضوی خان و امیر الامر مصمصام الدوله خاندوران و برادر وی  
منظر خان را اسم برد ساطع در کلیات خود اشعار متعددی در مدح اینها دارد. وی رضوی خان را اینطور  
توصیف میکند.

رضوی خان که مهر بر رخسار کرد  
در توصیف عبد العظیم خان می گوید :-

دید آفتاب کو کینه عبد العظیم خان  
در جای دیگر می گوید :-

کجا به دیه بر طبع من جواهر مدح  
مگر بدر که عبد العظیم خان آرد ۲۰  
آخرین ممدوح ساطع امیر الامر مصمصام الدوله خاندوران بوده است. وی الطاف و بخشش های این امیر  
بهره بسیار برده و چون دوری از وطن و سفرهای طولانی هند و ایران را راحت ساخته و از بهای سوزانده هند  
بسیار دل شکسته بود، لذا بقدر مر اجوت کشمیر افتاد. بالاخر مصمصام الدوله شاعر را اجازه برای مراجعت بکشمیر  
داد ۲۱ صاحب سقیفه هندی مینویسد -

«آخر بمذاحی علیجاه امیر الامر خاندوران خان بهادر پیر دامت و بمین تفضلات آن علیجاه خدمتی  
در کشمیر یافت، استخارفت چون قدری جایگزینم در آنجا یافت بود معیشت بخاطر جمع نمود ۲۲  
صاحب روز روشن می گوید که :-

«بمدح مصمصام الدوله تصبیه های بلیغه گفته، سیاحتیه اش سیور عالی در وطن حاصل نمود» ۲۳  
اشعاری که ساطع در مدح مصمصام الدوله سروده است بقدر زیاد است مادر اینجانی نمی توانیم تمام آنها  
را نقل کنیم. ایک نقطه نمونه های نقل میگرد -

۱ :- نه مخصوص سکندر بود اقبال جهانگیری  
که ساطع خاندوران سپهالار هم دارد ۲۴  
۲ :- بمدح خاندوران چون معانی را میان سازد  
لباطع کی رسد سبحان فصاحت هم خبر دارد ۲۵  
۳ :- شنای خاندوران بهادر پیشه کن ساطع  
که غیر از مدح او مقصود ما زین فن نیباشد ۲۶  
۴ :- قطع مشکل کند از بهر تو یکدم ساطع  
خان دوران که ظفر خواند بمصمصام او را ۲۷

دیوان رتن؟ هم یکی از ممدوحان ساطع بوده است. کلیات ساطع قطعه ای دارد که در مدح وی سروده  
شده است. یک بیت از آن در اینجا نقل میکنیم -

بکس تو مدح و ثنا را بدر که برم  
که مزج نمود شعر را بجز دیوان ۲۸



## مسافرت‌های ساطع

چنانکه قبلاً اشاره شد ساطع بعد از مکه و مدینه زندگی دیرای بدست آوردن معاش، راه مسافرت را پیش گرفت. در ابتدا به لیبیا و رقت و چندین سال پشت سر هم در آنجا ماند و بالاخره توسط اسلام خان که میر آتش بود، به دربار شاه بهادر بیست و تقرت دی حاصل نمود. هنگامی که محمد و ش بهلی رقت ساطع بهم همراهی وی را بسیار دهنی گردید. و تا زمان قتل فرخ سیر که در سال ۱۱۳۱ هجری قمری یوتوق بیست در دهنی ماند و تقیم وی از مسافرت‌های طولانی بسیار رسته و دلگیر شده و نیز هوای گرم و سوزانده هند و سیرا زیاده در آورده بود و چنانچه کیفیت هوای لیبیا و ردا را شعاع خود اینطور بیان میکند:

قصه‌ی ملک کرده هوای لیبیا و رم  
از تب نکلده بود در آتش سینه دار ۲۹  
جای دیگر در باره هوای گرم هند کلمه دارد و میگوید:-

در هوای هند از نشو و نما من می‌رس  
از گداز خود چو غل شمع آیم داده اند ۳۰  
گو یا ساطع از سفرهای دراز استوه آمد بود و خودش را در هند زنده یگور تصور میکرد. چنانکه میگوید:-

زنده در گور کرد این سفرم  
در دشت صاف کامرانی من ۳۱  
و چون آرزو برای برگشتن ب وطن خود او را بیقرار داشت  
امام موسی کاظم را پی می‌آورد نام راحت بکشید کند. درین مورد با شعاع زیر توجیه کنید:-

شب از خرابی احوال خویش میگفتم  
کرمی نخورده بینسان کسی مباد خراب  
سفر نمود تنگ مایه ام چنان که مرا  
بجز هوای وطن نیست در گره چو خواب  
خرد بگویش دلم این سخن نهانی گفت  
که عرض حال بکن پیش آن رفیع جناب  
امام موسی کاظم که مدرج او ز قلم  
نمود وقف کلیدی برای فتح الباب ۳۲

جای دیگری گوید:-

نیم آن ریگ که در شیشه ساعت باشد  
روز و شب از چسب کردن من در وطنست ۳۳  
از شعاع زیر بر می آید که خاندوران، بالاخره موافقت نموده تا وی بکشیم مراجعت نماید. در این ضمن می گوید:-

فرستادی یک گشت بهشت آباد کشتم  
که غیر از مهت بخشیده موریر اسلمانی ۳۴



در عوض خدماتی که ساطع در دیار شاه بهادر انجام داده است مایادشاه ویرادر کشمیر جایگیر تفویض نمود.  
چنانکه بدریارهین پادشاه یو دواست که ساطع تقاضا نامه خود را برای ایجایر فرستاده است. نقلی  
از همین تقاضا نامه اوایل بر یک برگ در موزه بریتانیا اشتباهاً با یک نسخه نثری ملاطفری مشهوری مضبوط  
است و شماره برگ آن ۸۷ می باشد ۳۵-

مصاب مجمع النفایس می نویسند که مصمم الدوله ساطع را در کشمیر جایگیر تفویض نمود ولی چنانکه از  
اشعار ساطع روشن میگردد تفویض شدن جایگیر در حق وی از لطف و عنایات شاه بهادر یو دواست. زیرا  
همگامیکه شخص ظالمی دست تظاول بسوی آن دراز کرده یو دواست ساطع برای داد رسی اشعار تیریدار یو  
پادشاه فرستاده یو دواست. وی میگوید:-

مور در پیش سلیمان عرض حالی میکند	ذره پیش آفتاب آسمان عز و جاه !
چند روزی شد که در دفتر خط انور رسید	گشت نازل کوئی خط الشعاع از هر ماه
با وجود این چنین لطفی که شد در حق من	با وجود این عنایات جناب پادشاه
ظالم از جایگزین دست تصرف بر داشت	من یدار العدل انصاف تومی کردم تا ۳۵

### تجدد ساطع

در کلیات ساطع به بعضی از اشعار برمی خوریم که دال بر آن است که وی متاهل نبوده بلکه در  
تجربید زندگی بسر برده است آنجا که در شعر زیر جوهر حقایق روزگار را بیان می کند، در ضمن آن اشاره  
به مجرد بودن خود هم میکند:-

بزن تا بد از غلبه دکلیم سامان فقر	موج سیلابت نقش یو دوا در خانه ام ۳۷
از اشعار زیر هم خبر بد شاعر هویدا میگردد:-	

- ۱:- گره چینی چون صورت دیبا بخت داده ام      لیک میدارد بگردن چنان عریان مرا ۳۸
- ۲:- هوای عالم تجوید در سردارم آل طفلم      که باشد دامن صحرای امکان کاغذایم ۳۹
- ۳:- مرا عریان تحید دیبا چون دارد درین وادی      نمیکند تخم به پیراهن ز بس بالیدم از شادی ۴۰
- ۴:- منصب آوارگی دارم بگردن مشربم      گر دیار دشت عشقم خانه بر دوش توام ۴۱



## فقر و گرسنگی ساطع

چنانکه گفته شد ساطع از تمد و جان خود لطف و مهربانیهای فراوان دیده است ولی از اشعارش روشن میشود که وی زندگی خود را با نهایت فقر و گرسنگی بسر میبرد. به اشعار زیر توجه فرمایید :-

و خشم دار و لیاط فقر گویا بافتند - از فی مکنان آهویو یاری خاتمه ام  
فقر کی ساطع بر دما گوشه گیر لذارنجای - این کشاکش بر نیار دچون کمان از خانه ام ۲۱  
چون ساطع از روزگار و اصل روزگار زجرها دیده است لذا از آنها ناله و دیرار بود :-

اشعار زیر بهین مناسبت در اینجا نقل می گردد :-  
خشم کسش کی حریف دیده گیان ماست - بهر که گردون کبود از سیلی لوفان ماست  
نان ما خونه نوشان لالهسان داغ ولست - هر که غم خوردن کوارایش بود بهمان ماست ۲۲

## وفات ساطع

در باره تاریخ وفات ساطع مانند تاریخ ولادت وی تذکره نویسان باهم اختلاف نظر دارند. صاحب روز روشن سال وفات ساطع را ۱۱۵۹ هجری قمری نوشته است لکن، در سفینه خوشگو و صحف ابیاسیم تاریخ درگذشت وی ۱۱۵۰ هجری قمری درج است. لکن این اختلاف حتی تا استخراج سیده است که بنظر بعضی از تذکره نویسان ساطع در دهلی فوت کرد ۱۱۴۷ در باره سال وفات ساطع منبع قابل ملاحظه ای که نظر تاریخی بسیار پراثر هست و اوقات کمثر است که نویسنده آن خواجه محمد اعظم دیده مری می باشد. دیده مری تنها معاص ساطع بوده است. بیکه میان وی و ساطع روابط دوستانه برقرار بود. علاوه بر این دیده مری از وی در شعر اصلاح هم میگرفت. در این مقام وی بر تمام تذکره نویسان فوتیت دارد. در باره وفات ساطع وی مینویسد :-

لذار وایت وی بر تمام تذکره نویسان فوتیت دارد. در باره وفات ساطع وی مینویسد :-  
وساطع (بیت و یکم مصنفان سال حیل و سه هجری ۱۱۴۳) رحلت نمود عالمی را از خویش  
و بیگانه گرفت از ناسف و تلهف فرمود. به تحقیص را تم حرف را. که قریب بیست سال بفرط محبت و اتحاد مجلس  
آراتی صحبت و یاده بیانی الفت بذکر اشعار آید و طرح قافیه های هدایت شتار، چه در حضور و غیبت بزم  
لطف طبع را راحت افزای حاصل بود. قریب در دقراق گذاشت و این تاریخ را اتم حرفی عجمه بر صفحه عبرت  
نگاشت. تاریخ



## نورایمان بمرتش ساطع

نورایمان بمرتش ساطع برابر است با ۱۱۴۳ لیس بر طبق روایت مغیر مذکور، ساطع، روزبیت و بحکم رمضان المبارک سال ۱۱۴۳ هجری قمری در کتبخانه جهان را بدرود گفت.

## آثار ساطع

طبع ساطع سرودن اشعار فارسی موزون بوده است. وی از آغاز زندگی شاعر و سخن علاقه داشت و پیروی از استادان بزرگ و بخشش ابیان نامدار فارسی کرده تقریباً در تمام اصناف شعر مهارت بدست آورده بود. روایت تذکره نگاران وی دیوان شعر دارد. مؤلف سفینه خوشگو درباره وی می نویسد که دیوانی قجیم دارد. ۴۹ صاحب راین الشعر المیکوید که دیوانش از سه هزار بیت متجاوز است. ۴۹ و اما سران الدین خان آرزو درباره دیوان اشعار او می نویسد که وی دیوان غنچه ای دارد. ۵۰ صاحب مخزن العرایب تعداد اشعار ساطع را قریب چهار و پنجاه هزار می نویسد. ۵۱ کلیاتی که ساطع از خود باقی گذاشته است. شامل قصاید، غزلیات، قطعات، ترکیب بند، رباعیات، مثنویات و منشآت است. علاوه بر نظم و نثر ساطع در علم لغت نیز آشنائی داشت چنانکه وی کتاب معروف لغت «برهان قاطع» را تألیف نموده و در نوآنها ترتیب داده است و اسم آن کتاب را تحت ساطع گذاشته بود ۵۲

نسخه کامل از کلیات ساطع در کتاب خانه سازمان تحقیق و اشاعت اسانجیون و کتبخانه سری نگر بشماره ۵۲۵ مقبوض است و نسخه دیگر از کلیات ساطع بشماره ۵۲۵ در همین کتاب خانه نگهداری میشود و کلیات مورد بحث اول الذکر ۳ مثنوی، ۳۹ قطعه، ۴۴ قصیده، ترکیب بند، ۴ رباعی تقریباً چهارصد غزل و منشآت به نثر فارسی دارد. این نسخه دارای ۱۵۳ برگ است. هر برگ ۱۲ سطری کاغذ نسخه کتبخانه سری نگر نخودی جلد چرمین برنگ قهوه ای. اسم کتاب و سنه استنساخ ندارد. سه جبر روی این نسخه ثبت است هری یک برگ ۴۵ الف دارد متن آن این است.

“سبح رام سها ۸۰۹ بکری“

برگ ۱۷۱ ب مهر خرداد ۱۲۳۶ هجری دارد.

با درنگر کردن عبارات و متن هری یکی فوق میشود حدس زد که این نسخه قبل از سال ۱۲۳۶ استنساخ شده باشد.

علاوه بر نسخه مذکور از نسخه دیگر دیوان ساطع هم اطلاع داریم اما هری یکی از



اینها گزیده ای است؛ لذا لازم است که هر سه دیوان را در اینجا اجمالاً معرفی کنیم  
یک نسخه از دیوان ملا ساطع کشمیری در

Andhra Pradesh Government Oriental Manuscript Library and  
Research Institute, Hyderabad, Ratan Mahal, No : 5-8-599, Abids<sup>A</sup>.

بشماره 440 ثبت است تعداد اوراق 79 کاغذ کشمیری. جلد بزرگ مشکی سر لوح مطلقاً نسخه حیدرآباد  
دارای 327 غزل و 4 رباعی.

نسخه دوم دیوان ملا ساطع که در موزه سالار جنگ حیدرآباد (آندهر پرادش) بشماره 2291  
مضبوط است، دارای 107 برگ است. هر صفحه دارای 5 اسطر بخط نستعلیق متوسط استنساخ شده است  
نسخه مورد بحث 2 اقصید ترکیب بند چهارصد غزل و چهار رباعی دارد.

نسخه سوم از دیوان ساطع در کتابخانه رضا رام پور ثبت است و 49 برگ دارد چنانکه گفته شد که  
ساطع نثر خوب مینوشت و در آن مهارت وافر داشت. در فن نثر نویسی بی همتا بود و محمد اعظم دیده مری  
در باره نثر نویسی وی می نگارد که «در نثر هم بی نظیر وقت بود»<sup>۵۳</sup> بقول صاحب مرآت آفتاب نما ساطع  
نثر خوب مینوشت<sup>۵۴</sup>. بر روایت سفینه هندی ساطع در نثر برابر نصیر ای همدانی عبارت را بکار می برد<sup>۵۵</sup>  
یک نسخه خطی بخط نستعلیق از منشآت ملا ساطع کشمیری در کتابخانه دیوان هندیرتیا نیا

بشماره 2942 مضبوط است که در یازدهم ماه ربیع الثانی 1177 هجری قمری استنساخ شده است گویا  
نسخه مذکور فعلاً قدیم ترین نسخه خطی از منشآت ملا ساطع کشمیری است. نسخه دوم از منشآت ملا ساطع همانست  
که در آن کلیات وی قرار میگیرد و در سامان تحقیق و اشاعت انسان جموں و کشمیر نگه داری میشود.

## مسک ساطع

از تقابله غزلیات و قطعات ساطع چنان برمی آید که وی شیعۀ لوده است و با نهایت احترام و تمام خدمت  
و شوق آل محمد صلعم را در اشعار خود ستوده است و با اوقات در صورت درگیریها و پیش آمدهای خود از اینها  
کماک غامبانه جسته است در مدح حضرت علی میگوید

(A) رجوع کنید به



غانسل ازینکه مهر شهنشاه دین علی<sup>۴</sup>

والی که مهر اوست برأت نجات ما

در مدح امام جعفری گوید -

امام جعفر صادق که از سحاب کفش

درباره امام موسی کاظم می گوید -

امام موسی کاظم که مدح او ز قلم

در منقبت امام علی موسی رضای گوید -

ساطع بیاد جیهه امید را لیا

شاهی که از سحاب کفش گرفت ز غم

در تعلق امام محمد باقر<sup>۵</sup> می گوید

چرخ ساقی کوثر محمد باقر

امام مهدی را اینطور توصیف می کند

بروز مقدم مهدی هادی آنکه کفش

محفوظ دارم زیلاهای روزگار

از هول قبر در رخ سحاب و غدا نار ۵۶

چکدیم زرع امید سائل آب بقا ۵۷

نمود وقف کلیدی برای فتح الیاب ۵۸

در درگاه امام علی موسی رضا

در بحر شعر خانه من میکند شنا ۵۹

کنز و چو ساغر بدرم زهر ملامال ۶۰

محیط گهر فیض است اصابعش اهنار ۶۱

باید اینجاست که ساطع در کلیات خود از میان خلقی رانده سحر حضرت علی کرم الله وجهه اسم  
ایچ کس را نبرده است در حالیکه از اشعار مندرج بفق معلوم شد که وی دوازده امام را بسیار ستوده  
است و این خود نمایانگر این امر است که ساطع شیعه اثناعشری بوده است.

## سیک شعر ساطع

ملا ساطع کشمیری در غزلیات خود پیروی از استادان بزرگ سبک هندی نموده است. وی در اکثر  
اشعار خود باین نکته اشاره نموده است. چون این سبک در روزگار ساطع یکی از متداول ترین سبکهای  
فارسی بشمار میرفت و اکثر شاعران فارسی گوی آن عصر به تنوع همین سبک شعر سروده اند و ساطع نیز بر طبق  
روش آن زمان برای ایراز اینگونه های درونی خود سبک مذکور را برگزیده و شیخی بنیت که سبک هندی در زمان  
ساطع قبولیت عام پیدا کرده بود و اما باید در نظر داشته باشیم که بعلاوه اینکار بردن اصطلاحات دور دست  
و از ترکیب مغلق و پیچیده این سبک جدا باشد و رسیده، تازه و چاشنی خود را از دست داده بود و بعلاوه  
ایکار بردن کلمات مغلق و تراکیب دور دست و زایدی از اشعار سبک هندی مجهول افتاده و از اینگونه های



در دنی بشر فایده است. اینگونه اشعار را محاله لطیفه میگویند بر سبک هندی بیار آورده است.

سبک هندی یا بسیاری از ویژگیهای بر خوردار است. این سبک چطور بوجود آمد موضوعیست جدا و مانعی نخواهیم در اینجا پیرامون چگونگی بوجود آمدن آن بحث کنیم. اما این قدر لازم است که تذکره بدیم که این سبک بدنبال سبک عراقی بوجود آمد و اکثر شاعران این سبک از سرزمین هند برخاسته اند و بعضی از ایرانیان هجرت نموده بدربار مغولان گورکانی هند پیوسته اند. مهم ترین ویژگیهای این سبک همان بارکیب آنسیرینی، خیال بافی، نکته پردازی، استعارات مشکل و پیچیده تشبیهات نادر و در دست و تازه آوریست. چنان معلوم میشود که اشعار ساطع از تمام ویژگیهای فوق بر خوردار است. شکی نیست که اگر ساطع را یکی از استادان و مقلدان این سبک تصور میکنیم زیرا وی در اشعار خود نکته های بارک، معنی های تازه، استعارات لطیف و تازه تشبیهات نادر و ساده را به مهارت کامل بکار برده است و منبع از حکیم همدانی تسلیم تهرانی، صائب تبریزی، غنی کشمیری، آشنا کشمیری، طالب آملی، جلال اسیر و هلائی نموده است. ساطع در اشعار خود اسمهای این همه استادان را با کمال شوق می برد. باین سبک ساطع یکنگ پیدا کرده بود و آماده نبوده است که از طرز و روش شعر صائب تبریزی انحراف بکند چنانکه میگوید.

نواز طریقه صائب برون مرساطع  
کناره مکر خطره های بسیران دارد ۶۲

ساطع در نکته پردازی و معنی آنسیرینی دستگاه کامل داشت. در فن نکته پردازی کسی دیگر را غیر از خود با هر معنی دانست گویا استاد نکته پردازی در زمان خود نبوده است.

و اما اعتراف می کند که در این فن غنی کشمیری را تتبع نمود و وی را استاد خود می پندارد (مثل غالب که در ریخته غزل) استادی میر تقی را مسلم میدارد. سه ریختی که نمی بینیم استاد غالب گفته پس که انکه زملنه من کوئی میر بھی تھا.

درباره غنی کشمیری گفته است.

نکته پردازی اگر هست فقیر است امروز  
پیش از بن عهد شنیدم که غنی هم بوده است ۶۳

ساطع گاهی طبع شاعرانه خود را با سلیم و فکر و اندیشه خود را با صائب مقایسه میکند و میگوید:

زبان شد ناطق و طبع سلیم اندیشه ام صائب  
مبیر از شمع معنی، دل چو فونوس خیالی شد

شده ساطع معانی لب سحابی چشم گریانم  
جنونی آشنا و دل اسیر و تن هلائی شد ۶۴

ولی در جای دیگر طبع خود را از حکیم کاشانی کمتر میداند.

طرفی از طبع شستم چو حکیم ای ساطع  
چکنم گوهر مقصود درین دریانیت ۶۵



ساطع در اکثر اوقات مفاهیم و مطالب و مضامین اشعار شاعران مذکور فوق را گرفته باندازی در قالب شعری خود میریزد که احتمال میشود که مضامین از خود ساطع بوده است در حالیکه ساطع از مفاهیم اشعار آنها تقلیدی نماید. مادر زیر برای مقایسه چند ناشر را نقل میکنیم تا حقیقت حال روشن گردد.

ساطع

غنی

اگر شهرت هوس داری اسیر دام عزلت شو  
که در پرده دار دگر گوشه گیری نام عنقارا  
حصار عافیت خواهی بود در کنج درویشی  
که اینجا آفت سر میشود چون شمع انبرها

صائب

ساطع -

دست نیاز در از کنی پیش هر کسی  
پل بسته ای که میردی از آبروی خویش  
خواهی غنی شوی شکستی خواری طلب  
دریاستوی بوجع کنی آبروی خویش

۶۷

## طبع موزون ساطع

طبع ساطع برای سرودن اشعار فارسی موزون بوده است و چه در غزلیات و چه در قصاید طبع موزون خود را بسیار ستوده است و گاه آنرا طبع خدا داد میگوید و گاهی آنرا طبع هنر پرور یاد میکند

۱. جلای طبع من از فیض استاد ازل باشد
۲. بدامان هنر پرورده شد طبع سلیم ما
۳. بجومه سر بنبیج خورشید شد آئینه پر دارم
۴. ز غلطانی بود کهواره در بیتیم ما

## مباحات و خود ستایی های اغراق آمیز ساطع

در اشعار اکثر شاعران سبک هندی چیزی که از همه بیشتر توجیه خواننده را جلب میکند توصیف های شاعران از طبع خود و خود ستایی های اغراق آمیز آنها در باره نکته آفرینی است تعجب است که استادان بزرگ سبک هندی و شاعران صاحب سبک هم از آن مبالغه آمیزی و دروغ گوئی با خود را نتوانسته اند کنار بکشند. مناسفانه در کلیات ساطع هم عده زیادی از این گونه اشعار اغراق آمیز وجود دارند. شاعر در اینجا بن اشعار مباحات می کند که طبعش موزون، خیالش بزرگ و بلند، اشعارش روان و معنیش رنگین است، مادر اینجا تنها بر چهار تامل اکتفا می کنیم.

۱. درباره بلندی خیال شاعر گفته است.

گردد از دیوان باندک قرصی آفاق گیر  
چون سلیمانست اقبال خیال من بلند

۷۰



۲. درباره معنی و لفظ رنگین می گوید :-  
 به جو برگ گل زرنگ دیو ز لفظ و معنی رنگین  
 زبان ساطع خوش گفتگو بر خویش می بالد ۴۱
۳. در عبارت متین معنی رنگین آورده است میگوید :-  
 در عبارات متین معنی رنگین ساطع  
 چون لکار لبت که بسیار نمکین باشد ۴۲
۴. درباره زبان و طبع بلند خود میگوید :-  
 زبانم بلبیل شیراز و طبع خود گلتانم  
 به لفظ از معنی رنگین بود گل در گریبانم ۴۳
- برای نمونه ها و امثال دیگر رجوع شود به برگ های ۵۶ الف ، ۳۵ ب ، ۳۴ پ ، ۶۵ ، ۶۶ الف ، ۳۶ ب ، ۲۶ الف ، ۴۴ الف ، ۲۸ الف ، ۲۷ ب ، ۲۰ الف و غیر آن از دیوان ساطع نسخه آندهراد از کلیات نسخه کشمیر برگ ۲۹ الف ، ۲۸ الف ، ۲۷ ب ، ۳۳ پ و غیر آن.

### بعضی از ویژگیهای شعر ساطع

بهترین اشعار ساطع همان است که از طبع وی با درد و سوز و تلان زده و به سادگی و روانی آرایه نگار دیده است. در اینگونه غزلیات ساطع رنگ و بوی ای دارد و آن رنگ عاشقانه است. وی عشق می ورزد و از جمال خوب و نگار زیبا لذت می برد. در این گونه غزلیات لکار ساطع از همین گوشت و پوست که ما داریم ترکیب یافته است. لذا عشقی که ساطع می ورزد عشقیست زمینی و بیج سر و کاری لغتش الهی و حقیقی ندارد. وی اغلب اوقات در اینگونه غزلیات خود از جور و بقای دلدارش یاد میکند. گاه از رعنائی خال و خط و دلداری می سوزد و گاهی از بوی آن پیغمبر و سرگردان می ماند و چشمهای انتظار بر راه وی دوخته. دیوانه وارانه های شقایق خود را بفراق وی ایرازی کند چون این غزلیات با انگیزه های درونی و از سوزنهانی ساطع آمیخته است. لاهوت ملول از درد و سوز وی است

کجا بم میکند ناز آفرینی مست عیاری  
 سخن پیرا بسم شیر هستی لب شکر طغی  
 بی جان غمره جاسوسی نگاری جلوه طاوسی  
 نظاره وحشت آمیزی بخرکان خوندل ریزی  
 عجب شمشاد بالائی قیامت جلوه رعنائی  
 بغمره ترک غمائی بخرکان ناوک اندازی

لکار تندخوی فتنه جوئی مشقه دیداری  
 عجب شیرین زبان طوطی بیان آئینه رخساری  
 قیامت قاننی سروی تدروی کبک رفتاری  
 غم کی شود لاوینری کمتد اندر جویاری  
 سیه فامی گل اندامی بهاری چهره گلزاری  
 دل عاشق هدف سازی کمان ایر و ستمکاری







- (مطلب این است که دل را از گریه خود استحکام بخشیم)
۲. گم نه گرد اندلکام خواهشتم افلاک را  
گوینا هفت آسبا آبت جوی دیده ام سز  
(اگر افلاک از خواهش مانعی بجز خداشکال نیست ، هفت آسمان یعنی هفت آسبا را از آب چشمه های خود خواهم پر خواهند)
۳. از گوشه ابرو تو زاهد چه کشاید  
مفاح بلال رمضان قفل دالنت ۸۱  
(زاهد از مشاهد ابروی تو چطور دهن خود را باز خواهد نمود ابرو گویا بلال رمضان است که قفل به دهان مردم می گذارد -

- ۳ - در چنین عهدی که اوضاع جهان نادیدنیست  
۵ - از سر طوفان حسن ، دل نتواند گذشت  
دیده تصور اگر باز است جای حیرتست ۸۲  
بل زهره رو ساختند ابروی پیوسته را ۸۳

## تشبیهات تازه در شعر ساطع

ساطع اکثر اوقات در اشعار خود تشبیهات تازه بکار می برد و تشبیهات تازه بسیار در کلیات ساطع داریم که شهرت بدست آورده و اما در عین حال ساطع تشبیهات بیچیده را هم آورده است که موجب ابتذال و انحطاط شعر وی قرار گرفته است مانند -

- (۱) ناچار خط سیر زد و برگرد دهانت  
از تنگی جام مغز در بن پسته نلگنجد ۸۴  
در این شعر پسته را به دهان و مغز پسته را به زبان تشبیه داده است -
۲. لب ت میبوسم و تو اجم نگاه سرمه ساجشتم  
لب را به دندان و نگاه سرمه سارا به اصفهان تشبیه نموده -  
مقیم در بدخشان و نظر بر اصفهان دارم ۸۵

## استعارات

شعر عالی آنست که آمیخته باد و دوسو شاعر باشد و اینگونه شعر نایب را هم سبای می گذارد و با و چون خود هم می رسد اما تا وقتی که شعر استعاره خوب نداشته باشد با و چون نمی رسد پس زبان شعر عالی زبان استعاره است ساطع بعضی موارد بکمک استعاره دل انگیز یک دنیای معنی را در شعر خود نهفته نگه دارد - تا طاعت عقل بدینجا بر نرسد تفهیم و درک کردن آن ممکن نیست به اشعار زیر توجه فرمائید -



۱- سیاه هندی پنداری بتیخیز فرنگ آمد شنبیخون عجب آورده خط بر کشور ترکش ۸۶

سیاه هندی استعاره برای رنگ سیاه خط محبوب که بر عارضش نموداری گردد -

۲- لب آن طوطی شیرین زبان چون در سخن آید شود پنهان چون غنچه لپته در لشکر خط سبزش ۸۷

ز دست انداز او اقلیم دل را تا پیمیش آید کشید امر و ز لشکر بر شته خاور و خط سبزش

منه خاور استعاره است برای خورشید در شعر مذکور اقلیم دل را گفته است

## تمثیل گوئی ساطع

در اشعار اکثر شاعران که پیروی از سبک هندی نموده اند به ادعای برهان (دعوی و دلیل) بر می خوریم یعنی شاعر در مصرع اول شعر برای چیزی ادعا میکند و بعداً در مصرع ثانی برای ادعای خود دلیلی می آورد. این روش در اشعار سبک هندی شیوع یافته و در وایح کامل بدست آورده یود. اکثر شاعران تقلید آن شعر سروده اند چون ادعای برهان در شعر سبک هندی یکی از مهمترین ویژگی بشمار میاید و ملا ساطع هم به تقلید آن اشعار خوبی دارد و لذا نمونه های چند از کلیات وی در اینجا نقل میکنیم تا باید اینجا توضیح بدیم که لقداد اینگونه شعر در کلیات ساطع بسیار است و ما مشتق از مخر واری گردیده ایم :-

۱- بکن ترک عیال خود اگر از گوشه گیرانی نمی بینی همان ار خانه داری کشمکش دارد ۸۸

۲- هر که رنجی کشد از اهل سر میگردد تن لبخستی چو دهد قطره گهر میگردد ۸۹

۳- شگفتنهائی صاحب دل بود ساطع ز خاوشی غریبست اینکه پیش از دانستن این غنچه گل باشد ۹۰

## طنز از شنبی

چون رفتار ملا با بی بی سر دته و زاهدان ظهیری و شنبیخان قلابی در هر زمان و مکان مشکوک بود است لذا تقریباً در تمام ادوار تاریخی هدف طنزهای گزنده و تمسخرهای سر سخت شاعران فارسی گوی تسار گرفته اند. ساطع نیز نطفه خوبی در باره زاهدان مذکور دارد و به هدف طنزهای وی قرار گرفته اند. اما وی بدوش بسیار ساده بطنزه اینها میپردازد و در عین حال معنیهای رنگین و تازه ابداع میکند.

۱- حرمت دختر ز راهری مشکرنیت شنبیخمر دست کند نایت اگر حرمت خویش ۹۱

۲- میکشی خمیازه تا کی شنبیخمر ساعه مکش پامزن، بر شنبیخمر دست دار این بر سر مکش ۹۲

۳- ای شنبیخمر بیا کار هر آن دام که ارشید در سبزه پنهان کرده ز نار نباشد ۹۳



- ۴ زاهد قدش بذكر تو كل كه حلقه شد  
مانند تار سیم چیدار در بر شد است ۹۲
- ۵ دوش مایار بر دار نتوانست کشید  
بکشد شیخ که افتاده بگردن او را ۹۵

### توصیف اغراق آمیز ساطع از دهان معشوق

چون اساساً سبک هندی برای نوآوری در شعر بوجود آمده است لذا هر شاعر پیر و این سبک سعی نموده است تا مفاهیم تازه در شعر ارائه بدهد. دهان معشوق هم موضوعی است که شاعران پیر و این سبک آنرا مورد توجه قرار داده و در توصیف آن کاربرد اسفار رسانیده اند که از توصیف اغراق آمیز آنها دهان معشوق گم شده و تنها شعر مانده است. ساطع نیز پیروی استادان این سبک دهان معشوق را ستوده است البته باغراق -

- ۱: تیسست موجود با نتوز کم حرفیها  
هر که خاموش نشیند بر ما گویانیت ۹۶
- ۲: ناپاچار خط سبز دم گزد دهانت  
از تنگی جامعتز درین لپسته تنگید ۹۷
- شاعر دهان را به لپسته تشبیه داده است و زبان را به مغز از تنگی دهان لپسته هم در آن نمی گنجید یعنی زبان -
- ۳: خوابیده سیزه خط گرد دهان تنگش  
با مغز لپسته غلطید در شکرتیسم ۹۸

### تراکیب تازه ساخته ساطع

تاثير پذیری شعر بستگی دارد بر چگونگی استفاده از تراکیب تازه و کاربرد اصطلاحات نادر هر قدر که شاعر بر زبان فتا در باشد حتماً تراکیبش همان قدر خوب و ارزنده خواهد بود. زیرا همین جاست که شاعر چابک دستی خود بجز می دهد. اصولاً تراکیب تازه نه تنها شاعر را تا دیر باز زنده نگه می دارد بلکه خود زبان هم یکمیکم تراکیب تازه ساخته می یابد. ساطع در بعضی موارد شعر خود را با تراکیب و اصطلاحات نوین خود بارز و پُر ارج می سازد. اینک ما در اینجا به نقل بعضی از اشعار وی می پردازیم -

۱: تراکیب مانند نگاه تر گس جادو، آفت محشر خرام و قامت در لحو در شعر زیر  
فتنه دوران نگاه تر گس جادوی اوست  
۹۹ آفت محشر خرام، قامت در لحو اوست

۲: چشم گریه آلود، تخم امید و ایر کف بود - در شعر زیر ملاحظه شود -  
دلی دارم نهایی کرده چشم گریه آلودش  
شده تخم امیدم سیر از ایر کف خودش ۱۰۰



۳. به ترا کیب مانند حسن فکر، مصراعنی و تنگنای بیت توجه کنید در شعر زیر:-  
 حسن فکر مصراعنی را تصرف میکند تنگنای بیت را زندان یوسف میکند<sup>۱۰۱</sup>  
 ۴. ترا کیب مانند ترا کیم، شاهد بیا و تخیل آرزو در ابیات زیر ملاحظه فرمایند:-  
 از جایا پوشیده ام چشم و زشتی روی دوست میباید تا رنگه مانند بنفسم زیر پوست  
 شاهد بیاوش چو بزم آرائی دل سر کند استخوان چون شمع فالو سم لبوزد زیر پوست  
 کی رود از خاطر م سر و نیامت جلوه ات ریشة اش در سر زمین دلچو تخیل آرزو دست<sup>۱۰۲</sup>  
حسن تعلیل:-

حسن تعلیل شعر را در اکثر موارد با وجود میسرساند و لوانیکه در ادای آن وقت رعایت شود برای زیبایی حسن علت آوردن در شعر ظاهر آسان بنظر میرسد ولی تمام سخن سرایان نمی توانند آنرا بخوبی بکار برند ساطع آنجا که حسن تعلیل را بکار برده است یک دنیای موز را در آن نهفته نگه می دارد:-  
 در مذاق یوسف لعلت گر چه آب زندگیت  
 میخورد دل آب از آن، چاه زرخدان بیشتر<sup>۱۰۳</sup>

## مراة النظیر

ساطع برای ایجاد معنی خاصی در شعر استفاده از مرأه النظیر می کند منظور از مرأه النظیر آنست که کلماتی را در شعر بکار بردن که با نفس موهوم مطابقت داشته باشد مثلاً کلمات گل گلزار سنبل خار، لاله دارغ، غنچه در شعر زیر ملاحظه فرمایند:-  
 رفتی از گلزار و در دراز جلوه ات گل خار خار

لاله دارغ و غنچه و تنگی و سنبل تاب داشت<sup>۱۰۴</sup>

## تبیح ساطع در فن تعمیه و تاریخ کوئی

فن تعمیه در اشعار سبک هندی یکمال خود رسیده است و تقریباً هر شاعر پیر و این سبک دست به این فن شریف زده و شعرهای سروده اند که تاریخ بوقوع پیوستن پیش آمدی بحساب ایجاد میتوان از آن اخذ نمود، چنانکه معلوم میشود که اینگونه شعر در موقعیت خاصی از طبع شاعر ترشح می کند، لذا تاثیر آن



هم تا یک موقعیت خاصی باقی می ماند. و این اشعار دیگر ارزش تاریخی را حفظ نموده ساطع نیز چنانکه از کلیاتش روشن است. در فن تعلیمه نبوغ داشت و در بعضی موارد بادر لفظ گرفتن موقعیت خاص آنها شاعرهای بسیار لغز سروده است. و این اشعار حالا ارزش تاریخی دارند و در اینجا نمونه های برجسته ای را از کلیات ساطع بزرگ نقل می کنیم.

۱. پادشاه فرخ سبیر در سال ۱۱۲۵ هجری قمری بر تخت سلطنت هند جلوس نمود. ساطع سال جلوس ویرا بمهارت استناد داده در شعر خود اینطور بیان میکند.

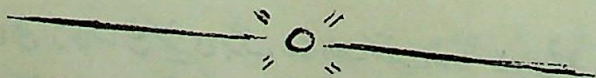
خیال تازه در صیدگاه مدح می بندم      کمند هستی از فکر رسا ام و زبردوشم ۱۰۵  
بدست آورده دل و دامن چاه از فکر ناچخش      همایون یاد جشن فتح اقدس گفت در گوشم  
«همایون یاد جشن فتح اقدس»، بحساب اسجد برابر است با ۱۱۲۵ هجری قمری.

۲. در سال ۱۱۰۹ هجری قمری کارمندان دولت از مردم جزیره گرفتند. ساطع عکس العمل خود را علیه این استبداد طوری در شعر بیان نموده است که در عین حال از آن تاریخ هم بدست می رسد ساطع میگوید:

اگر تاریخ اخذ جزیره پرسند      بگو ساطع که «قوت یافت اسلام»  
قوت یافت اسلام بحساب اسجد برابر است با ۱۱۰۹ هجری قمری

۳. از اشعار زیر معلوم میشود که مصمام الدوله خاندوران در سال ۱۱۳۰ هجری صاحب اولاد شده چون وی یکی از مددحان ساطع بوده است لذا وی برای بدست آوردن بخششها این موقعیت دیرینه ای را باین نحو در سبک شعر خود کشیده است.

نوگلی از نوبهار لطف یزدان آمده      شکر الله خاندوران بهادر را ببارغ  
کو کعب سجت همایونش لبامان آمده،      عمر خضر و دولت جم اقتضای دور است  
«بلند اقبال نور چشم دوران آمده»، بحساب اسجد برابر میشود با ۱۱۳۰ هجری قمری.





## تعلیقات و باورقمیا

۱. تذکرہ روز روشن و تذکرہ مینظیر جو الہ تذکرہ شعرائے کشمیر از حسام الدین راشدی

۱/ 297-298 اقبال اکادمی کراچی 346 ارخ

۲. واقعات کشمیر از محمد اعظم دیدہ مری ص 149 چاپ سنگی سری نگر کشمیر

۳. تذکرہ شعرائے کشمیر از اسلم میر زات بیضیح سید حسام الدین راشدی ص 110 اقبال اکادمی کراچی ارخ

۴. واقعات کشمیر از محمد اعظم دیدہ مری ص 149

تاریخ کشمیر از خلیل مر جان پوری برگ 142 ب نسخہ خطی کتاب خانہ تحقیق و اشاعت سری نگر  
شمارہ نسخہ 1074 تاریخ کبیر از محی الدین مسکین برگ 1315 نسخہ خطی کتاب خانہ تحقیق و اشاعت  
سری نگر شمارہ نسخہ تاریخ حسن از پیر زادہ غلام حسن 34/4 چاپ سنگی بسا زمان تحقیق و اشاعت سری نگر  
۵. واقعات کشمیر ص 149

لالہ ملک شہید یکی از شاعران معروف کشمیر بوده است در فن تاریخ کجی بہارت داشت و درین فن سحر  
کاری میکرد۔ دیوان اشعار نام تمام وی در کتاب خانہ تحقیق و اشاعت انسان جوں و کشمیر شمارہ 1669  
مضبوط است ملا حظ شود تاریخ حسن 27/4

واقعات کشمیر ص 208

میرزا داراب بیگ متخلص بہ جویا بیسر ملا سامری ویرادر کامران بیگ گویا است۔ جویا یکی از  
شاعران نامدار سخن بینج و صاحب علم و فراست بوده است جویا در سال 1118 ہجری قمری فوت  
نمودہ است۔ کلیات وی بدست و کتر محمد باقر سربک یار پنجاب رسیدہ است ابن کلیات شامل  
دیباچہ قصائد حمد و ثناء و مناقب مشوایات مقطعات، متفرقات، غزلیات، رقصات  
دیباچہ بر دیوان صائب۔ دیباچہ سفینہ

۶. البصا

۷. دیوان ساطع از ملا ساطع کشمیری برگ 66 الف کتاب خانہ نسخہ های خطی الستی تیتو

تحقیقی جید را یاد کند ہر ایردیش شمارہ نسخہ 440

۸. واقعات کشمیر ص 149

۹. مجمع النفاس از سران الدین خان آرزو بفتح عاید رمضانیدار ص 57 خدا بخش اورنٹل لائبریری پتہ۔



بارغ معانی از نقش علی بن قلی محمد رضا بیدار <sup>104</sup> چاپ سنگی خدا بخش پینه روز روشن  
از مولوی محمد مظفر حسن صبا بن قلی محمد حسین رکن زاده <sup>340</sup> چاپ تهران سفینه هندی  
بحواله تذکره شعرائی کشمیر <sup>298</sup>  
داماد مؤلف محف ابراهیم گلشن اسلام را مثنوی خوانده است ملاحظه شود تذکره شعرائی  
کشمیر <sup>297</sup>

۱۰- کلیات ملا ساطع کشمیری برگ ۹ اب نسخه خطی سازمان تحقیق و اشاعت استان محول و کشمیر شماره  
نسخه 535

۱۱- البصائر برگ 27 الف

۱۲- البصائر برگ 40 الف

۱۳- بهادر شاه لیسر دوم عالمگیر میباشند وی در سال 1053 هجری قمری بدینا آمد در آغاز پادشاهی عالمگیر  
وی ناظم ترسان بود. در لیویش جید را بدکن لعلت نقشته ابو الحسن خان وی تا هفت سال محبوس  
ماند اما وقتی که آزاد شد بر سمت ناظم و حاکم کابل پشاور ملتان و لاهور تعیین گردید. بعد از فوت  
عالمگیر وی بنام قطب الدین محمد معظم بهادر شاه در سال 1119 هجری قمری بعنوان پادشاه هند جلوس  
نمود ملاحظه شود تاریخ حسن 554/2

۱۴- فرخ سیر بنام معین الدین محمد فرخ سیر در 1125 هجری قمری بر تخت سلطنت هند جلوس نمود  
خودش شعر فهم بوده است و از اشعار شاعران لذت میبرد. وی در سال 1131 هجری قمری بقتل رسید  
از «سادات بوی نمک حوای کوردند»، تاریخ فوت فرخ سیر یعنی 1131 هجری بدست می آید.

تاریخ حسن 572/2، 765

۱۵- واقعات کشمیر <sup>149</sup>

۱۶- کلیات ملا ساطع کشمیری برگ 15 الف نسخه خطی سازمان تحقیق و اشاعت شماره 535

۱۷- البصائر برگ 7 الف

۱۸- کلیات ملا ساطع کشمیری برگ 48 ب

۱۹- البصائر برگ 27 ب

۲۰- البصائر برگ 22 ب

باید در اینجا تذکره بهیم که عید العظیم خان یکی از اکابر ایران بود و صاحب کمال وی به سمت دیوان



صوبه کشمیر گماشته شده بود تاریخ حسن 567/2

واقعات کشمیر از محمد اعظم 218

۲۱. مجمع النفائس ص ۵۷

سفینه خوشگو بحواله تذکره شعرائ کشمیر 292/1

یاغ معانی ص ۱۵۴

صاحب تذکره حداثی الشعرا می نویسد که ساطع ندیم مصمم الدوله بود در حوز مشهوره تذکره حداثی الشعرا تألیف

میرزا بیگ بنارس برگ 63 الف نسخه خطی کتابخانه ایشیاٹک سولشی بریکال شماره نسخه 7۵2

۲۲. سفینه ہند ص ۱۵6 بحواله تذکره شعرائ کشمیر 298/2

۲۳. روز روشن ص 34۵

۲۴. دیوان ملا ساطع برگ 47 ب نسخه آندھر اپر دیش کتابخانه نسخہ های خطی

۲۵. ایضاً برگ 37 الف

۲۶. ایضاً برگ 48 الف

۲۷. ایضاً برگ 3 الف

۲۸. کلیات ملا ساطع کشمیری برگ 29 ب نسخه خطی سازمان تحقیق و اشاعت جموں و کشمیر

۲۹. ایضاً برگ 24 ب

۳۰. دیوان ملا ساطع برگ 33 ب آندھر اپر دیش مینسکریٹ لائبریری

۳۱. کلیات ملا ساطع برگ 29 الف نسخه سازمان تحقیق و اشاعت جموں و کشمیر

۳۲. کلیات ملا ساطع برگ 41 الف نسخه کشمیر

۳۳. دیوان ساطع برگ 26 الف نسخه آندھر اپر دیش

۳۴. کلیات ملا ساطع برگ 69 ب نسخه کشمیر

۳۵. ایضاً

۳۶. کلیات ملا ساطع برگ 69 ب نسخه کشمیر

۳۷. دیوان ملا ساطع کشمیری برگ 63 ب نسخه آندھر اپر دیش



۳۸. کلیات ساطع برگ ۶۹ الف نسخه کشتیر  
 ۳۹. دیوان ملا ساطع کشتیری برگ ۶۶ الف نسخه آندهر  
 ۴۰. البصنا برگ ۶۶ ب  
 ۴۱. البصنا ۶۴ ب  
 ۴۲. کلیات ساطع برگ ۶۵ ب نسخه کشتیر  
 ۴۳. البصنا  
 ۴۴. روز روشن ص ۳۴۱  
 ۴۵. سفینه خوشگو و محف ابراهیم سجواله تذکره شعرای کشتیر ۲۹۷/۱  
 ۴۶. ریاض الشعرا سجواله تذکره شعرای کشتیر ۲۹۳/۱  
 ۴۷. واقعات کشتیر از محمد اعظم دیده مری ص ۲۴۹ چاپ سنگی سری نگر پیرامون وفات ساطع صاحب  
 واقعات کشتیر قطعه تاریخ زیر نوشته است.

از صفادهن النورش لامع	مهر اوج سخنوری ساطع
بود رای مستین او دران	رایت عالی فصاحت را
به فقیر و غنی بی نافع	صحبتش وقت نکته پیرائی
بود جویای او زی طالع	از علو نظانش استناد
آن یا صناف معرفت جامع	بزم آرائی شعرش نهجند
صفحات بقاش راقطع	شده مقرض موت آخر کار
روح قدسش شده بحق راجع	پرده جسم ارجیه فانی گشت
نور ایمان بمر قدش ساطع	گفت اعظم ای سال تاربخش

۴۸. سفینه خوشگو سجواله تذکره شعرای کشتیر ۲۹۳/۱  
 ۴۹. تذکره شعرای کشتیر ۲۲۳/۱ ریاض الشعرا  
 ۵۰. مجمع النفایس ص ۵۶

۵۱. فخرن الغرائب ۱۸۰/۲  
 ۵۲. منتخب الطائف تألیف رحیم علی خان بیقیع سید محمد حبیبی و سید امیر حسن عایدی ص ۲۲۳  
 چاپ تهران ۱۳۴۹ تهران مجمع النفایس ۵۶ روزشن ص ۳۲۰



- سپینه هندی بحوالہ تذکرہ شعرائ کشمیر 298/1  
 ۵۳ :- واقعات کشمیر 249  
 ۵۴ :- مرآۃ آفتاب نما بحوالہ تذکرہ شعرائ کشمیر 298/1  
 ۵۵ :- سپینه هندی بحوالہ تذکرہ شعرائ کشمیر 298/1  
 ۵۶ :- کلیات ملا ساطع کشمیری برگ 24 ب نسخہ کشمیر  
 ۵۷ :- ایضاً برگ 34 ب  
 ۵۸ :- ایضاً برگ 42 ب  
 ۵۹ :- ایضاً برگ 36  
 ۶۰ :- ایضاً برگ 56 الف  
 ۶۱ :- ایضاً برگ 53 الف  
 ۶۲ :- دیوان ساطع برگ 36 ب آندھرا پردیش  
 ۶۳ :- دیوان ملا ساطع برگ 130 تو آندھرا  
 ۶۴ :-  
 ۶۵ :- کلیات ملا ساطع برگ 90 الف نسخہ کشمیر  
 ۶۶ :- دیوان ملا ساطع برگ 5 الف آندھرا پردیش  
 ۶۷ :- دیوان ساطع برگ 54 ب آندھرا  
 ۶۸ :- دیوان ملا ساطع کشمیری برگ 68 ب آندھرا  
 ۶۹ :- دیوان ملا ساطع 4 ب  
 ۷۰ :- دیوان ملا ساطع 35 الف آندھرا  
 ۷۱ :- دیوان ساطع 133 الف آندھرا  
 ۷۲ :- دیوان ساطع 36 الف آندھرا  
 ۷۳ :- دیوان ملا ساطع برگ 69 الف  
 ۷۴ :- دیوان ملا ساطع برگ 75 ب آندھرا  
 ۷۵ :- کلیات ملا ساطع برگ 25 الف  
 ۷۶ :-



- ۷۷ :- دیوان ملا ساطع برگ 63 ب آندھرا  
 ۷۸ :- دیوان ملا ساطع 49 الف آندھرا  
 ۷۹ :- مطلب این است کہ دل را از گریہ خود آسوخ کام می بخشیم - دیوان ساطع برگ 54 الف  
 ۸۰ :- دیوان ساطع برگ 66

:- ۸۱

- ۸۲ :- دیوان ساطع برگ ۱۱6 الف آندھرا  
 ۸۳ :- دیوان ساطع 7 الف آندھرا  
 ۸۴ :- دیوان ساطع برگ 5۱ ب  
 ۸۵ :- منقیم دیوان ساطع 62  
 ۸۶ :- دیوان ساطع برگ 55 الف آندھرا  
 ۸۷ :- دیوان ساطع برگ 55 ب آندھرا  
 ۸۸ :- دیوان ملا ساطع برگ 37 الف آندھرا  
 ۸۹ :- ایضاً 48 الف  
 ۹۰ :- دیوان ملا ساطع 50 ب آندھرا  
 ۹۱ :- دیوان ملا ساطع 56 ب آندھرا  
 ۹۲ :- دیوان ملا ساطع 55 ب آندھرا  
 ۹۳ :- دیوان ملا ساطع برگ 47 الف  
 ۹۴ :- دیوان ملا ساطع برگ 30 ب آندھرا  
 ۹۵ :- دیوان ملا ساطع برگ 3 الف آندھرا  
 ۹۶ :- کلیات ساطع برگ 90 الف نسخه کنتیمر  
 ۹۷ :- دیوان ساطع برگ 5۱ الف آندھرا  
 ۹۸ :- دیوان ساطع برگ 70 الف آندھرا  
 99 :- دیوان ساطع برگ ۱5 ب آندھرا  
 ۱۰۰ :- دیوان ساطع برگ 54 الف آندھرا  
 ۱۰۱ :- دیوان ملا ساطع 43 ب آندھرا



۱۰۲ :- دیوان ملا ساطع برگ ۱۹ الف اور پ آندھرا

۱۰۳ :- دیوان ملا ساطع 51 پ آندھرا

۱۰۴ :- دیوان ملا ساطع برگ 5 اب آندھرا

۱۰۵ :- کلیات ساطع برگ 28 الف نسخہ کشمیر۔







**Published by the Director Centre of Central Asian Studies,  
The University of Kashmir, Srinagar and Printed at  
Crown Printing Press, Batamaloo, Srinagar.**